

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

Monday, December 15, 1975

## The Pacific Doctrine

President Ford's newly proclaimed Pacific Doctrine is not essentially new. It stems from the old Nixon Doctrine, which signaled a lowered American presence in Asia as the Vietnam war wound down. But it contains elements of significance:

- This is the strongest statement to date that the United States is willing to restore relations with the states of Indo-China. The pace at which Hanoi and Washington are now edging toward each other is no less than astonishing, given the collapse of American authority in South Vietnam no more than eight months ago. The most recent evidence of this movement is the meeting held in Paris recently between North Vietnamese officials and members of Congress on the question of the MIAs (Americans missing in action).

- It is reasonable to assume the Chinese are nudging the U.S. in the direction of normalization with Hanoi. They could not be happy about the presence of the Russians in North Vietnam and the support which high North Vietnamese leaders are giving to Soviet policies in India, on detente and the like. They are also undoubtedly worried that the Russians might acquire a naval base in Vietnam.

- Hence Peking probably sees an American presence in Indo-China as a welcome counterweight to the penetration by their communist rival. This is an historic irony indeed when one considers the adversary U.S. relationship with China which initially put the Americans into Vietnam.

- President Ford has again indicated Washington's desire to resolve the political conflict on the Korean peninsula. The Chinese and the North Koreans have been pressing for a peace accord, a move the U.S. rightly rejects unless South Korea is allowed to participate.

Nonetheless Korea now remains the one divided country whose status has not been normalized and which poses a danger of

armed conflict and an East-West confrontation that would destabilize the whole region. The German question has been dealt with. So has Vietnam. Now it remains to find some arrangement under which the U.S. would gradually withdraw its forces from South Korea and the two parts of the peninsula could agree to respect each other's territorial integrity while leaving open the door for eventual reunification.

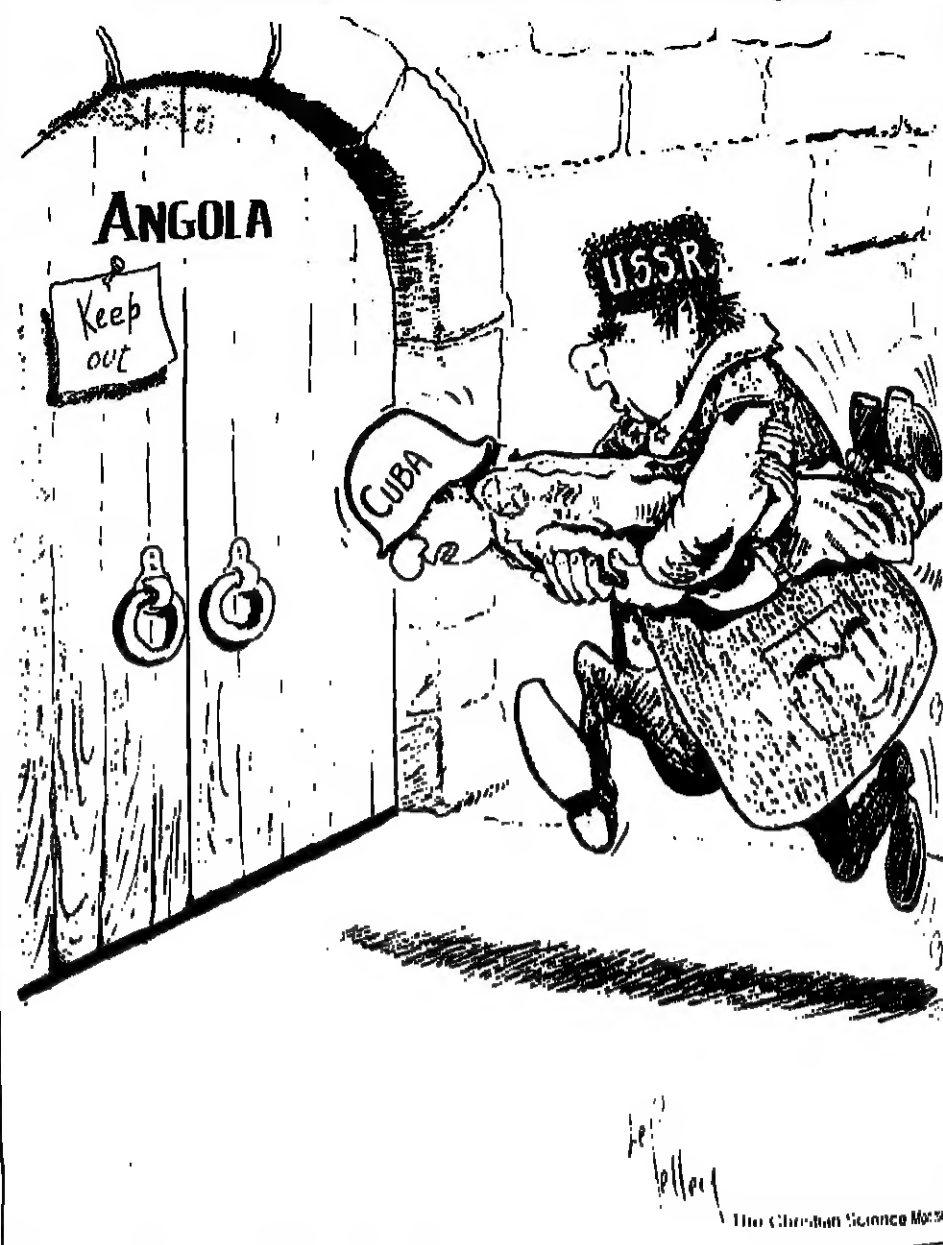
- Mr. Ford's assertion that American relations with the People's Republic of China must be normalized reiterates the 1972 Shanghai communique. But, given the fact that bilateral relations have reached a plateau without much movement toward further progress, it is useful that this goal be restated as an objective of the Ford administration as well.

As for other aspects of the Pacific Doctrine — and presidents seem to like new catch phrases even for old policies — there is certainly nothing about which one could quibble. It is noteworthy that 34 years after the attack on Pearl Harbor the United States is heralding its "partnership" with Japan as a pillar of U.S. strategy. That is heartening evidence that adversaries need not always remain adversaries — that "peace with all" is indeed possible.

It goes without saying that America must not retreat from the Pacific. It must continue to play a helping military role in the region's stability, both for its own strategic security and for the economic benefit it derives from such stability. But, as Vietnam taught, it can no longer fight impossible battles. To echo the President, the Pacific nations must become self-reliant and must develop that "popular legitimacy and social justice" which alone can resist subversion and aggression.

The updated tenets of the Pacific Doctrine are fully reasonable. The task is to keep on with their implementation.

"We noncolonial powers must stick together"



## American defense: strength without fat

When Donald Rumsfeld was suddenly made Secretary of Defense, pundits said he would need a year just to find his way around the shop. But his education will have to be accelerated if he is to respond to voices inside and outside the Pentagon saying what should be done to spend — or save — the taxpayers' money. He ought to take advantage of the opportunity for a genuine dialogue on the issues, helping to educate the public, too.

For the public needs to know not only how much money the Defense Department wants but why it wants it. Former Secretary Schlesinger is carrying his arguments for increased spending to the public — and reportedly into the political campaign as a source of advice for President Ford's Republican opponent, Ronald Reagan. Mr. Ford and Mr. Rumsfeld will have to justify their own views unless they are to rubber-stamp those of the man just fired. Response is also needed to new charges by Navy cost-cutter Gordon Rife that "our taxpayers' defense dollars are being ripped off shamefully."

What the administration should work toward is not simply a generalized posture of defense "second to none" (namely the Soviet Union) but a positive and clearly spelled out defense policy. What kinds of military strength are needed — and where? The ideal would be a budget tightly drawn to fit the policy, without inflated estimates thrown in on the assumption there will be congressional cuts anyway. Then Congress would have to justify any cuts as rigorously as the requests would have been supported by Defense.

In such a depoliticized atmosphere the public would be more inclined to believe that the ultimate result was reasonable. In the realm of technology beyond most laymen's ken, public trust in the judgment of governmental experts could thus be bolstered.

Ever as it is, taxpayers have seemed less outraged over abuses by giant corporations in the name of defense than over abuses by individuals in the name of welfare, for

example. But reducing such corporate abuses — and defense officials' complicity in them — is another way to boost public confidence.

To the past scandals of cost overruns have been added the recent disclosures of the lavish entertainment of defense officials by a defense contractor — some of it allegedly disguised as military spending. Mr. Schlesinger, then Secretary, said he suspected the first disclosures were "only the tip of the iceberg," and he ordered a broad inquiry.

This inquiry is continuing under Secretary

Rumsfeld, according to the Defense Department, but the results are not yet known. Meanwhile, however, departmental regulations on such matters as gifts and conflict of interest have been changed to eliminate the kind of loopholes noted by Mr. Schlesinger.

If Mr. Rumsfeld finds the rest of that iceberg which Mr. Schlesinger suspected, prompt disciplinary action would lend that much more credibility to his end of the budget debate. So would publicizing the results and scope of the inquiry, whatever its outcome.

## Wilder's world

In a period when literary fashion turned brutal and brutalizing — Thornton Wilder clinging to an ideal of universal humanity expressed in civilized terms. It was not a mindless optimism. It had its dark side. But in its wholeness of vision there was always room for possibility — the possibility of human beings choosing the better part, surviving suffering and easing the suffering of others.

But "the magnificent comers in us" emerged in multitudinous details of the trivial, as Wilder's fictional version of Caesar said. And Wilder admitted to the "preposterous" claim that the play "Our Town" — one of his three Pulitzer Prize winners — was "an attempt to find a value above all price for the smallest events of our daily life."

Here he postmarked a New Hampshire village in relation to infinite space, in "The Skin of Our Teeth" he made the story of mankind all happen at once, as if to illustrate what he would write in his last novel, "The Eighth Day": "It is only an appearance that time is a river. It is rather a vast landscape and it is the eye of the beholder that makes it a river."

By the time of the star-studded production of "The Skin of Our Teeth" this year, Wilder's sophistication had begun to seem dated. But those "events of our daily life" — the moving audiences for "Our Town" — the humor of Wilder's "The Matchmaker" — still reaching people who never heard of him — in its musical incarnation, "Hello, Dolly!"

Wilder knew that "whatever you do, the human race there's layers and layers of nonsense," as the Stage Manager said in "Our Town." But he also knew that it was more to it than that.

## Faithful Finns

They always pay on time. And now they're paying ahead of time.

They are the Finns, of course, known to every American schoolchild in the '30s as the people who never missed a payment on their post World War I debts to the United States.

The final payment isn't due until 1984, but Finland is paying up in advance, despite hard times at home. The idea is for the U.S. to deposit the money in Finland. The interest would maintain a Finnish-American scholarship program toward which the debt payments have been contributing under a congressional resolution of a quarter century ago. With the faithful Finns, everybody wins.

## Timor's people in trouble

Timor is one of those obscure Southeast Asian islands which make westerners think of copra and sandalwood, if anything at all. But there are some 840,000 people in the eastern half of the island, Portuguese Timor — and it is for their sakes, rather than any big-power interests, that attention must be paid to the military struggle there.

It is not only the hundreds reportedly killed, including many women and children, during the conflict between left-leaning independence fighters and the Indonesian forces which have now taken over the capital, Dili. There is also the problem of refugees and hunger worsening the longer there is instability in a land requiring outside help to overcome economic and food deficiencies.

The formerly Dutch western part of the island has long been part of Indonesia. And Indonesia is understandably troubled at the potentiality of leftists emerging in control right next door as the economically unviable eastern Timor is decolonized by Portugal (with which, ironically, Indonesia had resumed relations after last year's coup). It does not condone Indonesia's military violation of international law in welcoming Indonesian Foreign Minister Malik's suggestion that a plebiscite be held to determine the

wishes of the majority in eastern Timor — with the United Nations presence he offered as a possibility.

It is not for remote outsiders to say that such a plebiscite is the only option now. But all must hope that the parties concerned speedily agree on some means of ending the current bloodshed and establishing a situation that will not prolong guerrilla opposition — or the suffering of the people.

WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL EDITION

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, December 22, 1975

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## Angola: Moscow's reach lengthens

But Kremlin adventure breaks no rules

By Joseph C. Hirsch

This has been the week in which the United States was startled by the fact that the Soviet Union is not a limited land power any more, but a world-ranging sea power as well — with interests in places as far away from its continental land base as Angola.

It is not a new fact, but it is for most Americans a newly perceived fact. And from the White House out across the American landscape there went a shock wave which raised a question. Is this a violation of detente, and, if so, what if anything should Washington do about it?

The first answer is no, it is not a violation of detente, but it certainly upsets what a lot of Americans mistakenly perceived detente to mean.

There is nothing in the documents and understandings involved in detente which requires the Soviet Union to stand still and do nothing to establish its influence in far away places. Accepting a faction in Angola as a client is the sort of thing world powers do all the time. Moscow accepted a client in Angola, and obviously hopes that there will be the usual ultimate reward in the form of air and sea bases. If the Moscow adventure prospers, Soviet naval vessels will be able to use Angola's harbors for refueling, rest and recreation. And Soviet military planes will be able to do the same on the airfields.

Detente certainly does rule out doing this sort of thing under each other's noses. Washington would be violating detente to back a dissident political faction in Poland. Moscow would be violating detente if it tried once more to place any long-range missiles in Cuba — as it once did — causing trouble to each other's home territory is against the implied rules of detente.

But detente does not mean that either the United States or the Soviet Union is required to stand still. Both are world powers with world-ranging interests. Each is able to project its naval forces out over the seven seas. The United States is no longer the only great sea power which from 1945 until fairly recently did in fact dominate all the sea lanes of the world.

Soviet sea power does not yet equal American by any means. But Soviet naval forces are steadily increasing their ability to take to the high seas and stay there for extended periods of time. Their choice of vessels and their use of them would indicate a serious intention to be able someday to dominate the main sea approaches to their home base.

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As U.S. Congress begins Angola debate, refugees stream away from fighting

## North-South summit

## Will the fat nations feed the thin?

By Takashi Oka

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Paris — If peace is the goal in East-West relations, justice must be the no-less-compelling goal in North-South relations.

That was the keynote of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's carefully reasoned speech to the Conference on International Economic Cooperation here this week.

The basic need for fairer world-economic relations was echoed by most of the other speakers at the meeting of rich industrialized nations, oil producers, and developing countries.

"Justice commands us to take a bold, realistic attitude toward the problems of the developing countries, especially

the most deprived ones," said French President Giscard d'Estaing. He pointed out that the deficit of these countries had risen from \$9 billion in 1973 to nearly \$35 billion in 1975.

"Some redress of this imbalance [between the rich nations and the poor] should now be viewed as an objective in itself, as part of realpolitik, and not just as an idealistic approach," said United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim.

Dr. Kissinger also argued eloquently the case for the poor nations, the so-called fourth world, who have none of the raw materials needed by the industrialized world, and who therefore have no bargaining chips except the injustice of their situation in the wrenching dislocations of the world economy caused by the five-fold increase in oil prices.

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## A Christmas wish for the thing in the loch

By Gerald Priestland

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

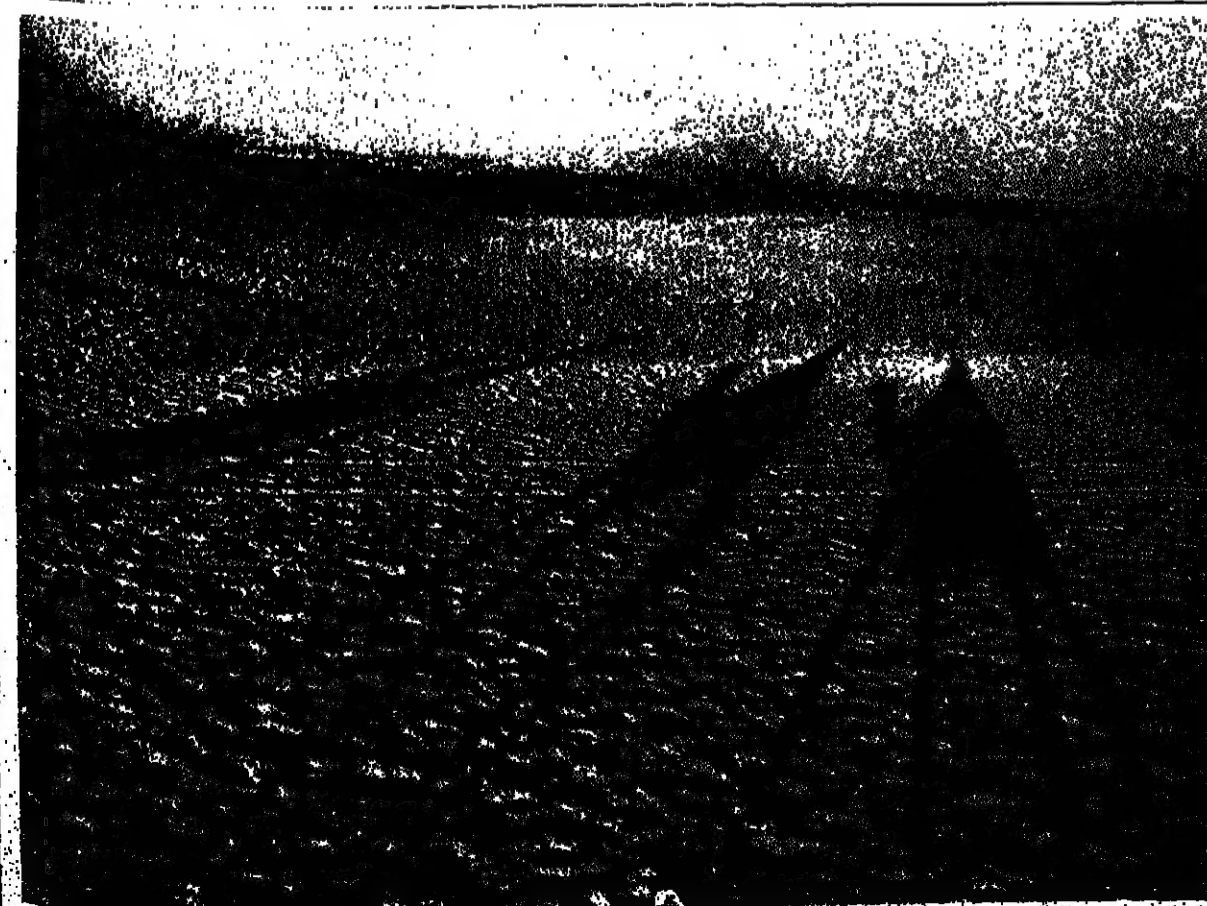
London — There is this good old English custom of wishing while you stir the Christmas pudding. It goes as far back as my infant memory and maybe even further, though it would not surprise me to learn that like so many of our Good Old English traditions it was actually imported from Germany by Albert the Good, Prince Consort to Her Late Lamented Majesty Victoria.

Did you, by the way, know that the expression "pudding time" once meant a time of good fortune (see, for example, that fine old English folksong The Vicar of Bray: "When George in pudding time came o'er...")?

Whether you knew it or not, I am by now back in my mother's kitchen, enveloped in an aroma of spices and stirring lustily at a huge yellow bowl full of sticky, squidgy goodness including candied peel (out of which a fragrant, crystallized sugar had to be chipped — and eaten), raisins, currants, sultanas, and glace cherries, and I am wishing like mad. It is 40 years ago, so I am probably wishing for something like a tricycle or a flashlight that changes colour, or even something negative like not being sent away to boarding school.

Come to think of it, this year's stir was made with the wish that the electricity bill would not arrive before my pay-check (a fatal disclosure that, if you tell your wish, it doesn't come true). But if I had that wish again, I should wish that the Loch Ness Monster May Not Be Caught In 1976.

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Shadows of camels, Giza

Journey of the Magi, 1975



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## IS GROWTH GOOD FOR US?

At a recent conference on humanity's future, "think tank" boffin Herman Kahn struck a sour note. He was optimistic — predicting "joy, fulfillment, peace, and prosperity" in the years ahead.

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## THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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## FOCUS

## Soviet carmaker's capitalist plan

By Elizabeth Pond

Moscow  
Cars on credit in the Soviet Union? "It sounds like science fiction," mused one Muscovite.  
But it has been proposed publicly by a Soviet auto executive — with a torrent of ingenious reasoning. And in the Soviet Union's highly censored press that very fact suggests that this futuristic idea is at least being considered.

The demand of a society of consumers "impatiently awaiting [cars] in all corners of the Soviet Union" is not in itself sufficient cause for such a radical innovation, it appears. But among other things, writes Volga auto works finance chief A. Yasinitsky, wage deductions for auto payments would keep workers at their place of work and effectively cut vexatious labor turnover.

Presumably there is nothing inherently un-Marxist in wage-installment purchase. Television sets are already sold on this basis — they accounted for 99 percent of the estimated 2 billion ruble (\$2.9 billion at the current official exchange rate) outstanding consumer credits in the Soviet Union last year. But in a country that was founded on the slogan of "From each according to his ability, to each according

to his need," the need for a car has yet to establish itself as a birthright. And Mr. Yasinitsky sometimes sounds a mite defensive about his proposal.

Buying automobiles on time might seem "strange... at first glance," Mr. Yasinitsky begins, in the current issue of Economics and Organization of Industrial Production. But once he warms to his topic, there can be no doubting of his own enthusiasm.

Credit buying of the Zhiguli (the Russian Fiat that started coming off the Volga plant's assembly line four years ago) would have "a strong social and political effect" and become "a powerful means of economic and moral stimulation," he asserts.

Not only would it keep purchasing workers at their jobs, argues Mr. Yasinitsky. It would also put an end to present uncontrolled private loans for car buying, keep savings accounts in the banks, get as much as 2.7 billion excess rubles out of circulation, and make for more equitable distribution of autos among different social strata.

The current method of buying a car involves getting on a waiting list, usually at one's place of work. Then two months before the car is delivered — often a year

and a half after the initial listing because of the short supply — the 3,500 to 7,500-ruble price (\$7,900 to \$10,000) for the Zhiguli is paid in full.

This outlay represents a hefty three to four years of work for the average 10-ruble-per-month (\$214) wage earner, however, so money must be withdrawn from savings accounts.

What with forced savings during and after the war, with both spouses usually working, and with relatively few consumer goods to spend money on, private savings are extensive — \$113 billion, growing at \$7.25 billion a year, in Western estimates. But savings in the amounts needed to buy a car are possessed only by "representatives of highly paid social strata of working people," Mr. Yasinitsky points out.

Besides his main theme of credit sale, Mr. Yasinitsky tucks in one other controversial idea: that the cost of some cars should rise with demand.

To some extent the government-set price already does this. In the conditions of continued scarcity of autos and monopoly sales inside the Soviet Union, the Zhiguli costs a Soviet buyer a lot more than the same car costs a Western European buyer of the Soviet export model. But the black market price inside the Soviet Union is even higher than the official price, and Mr. Yasinitsky would like to rake in some of this differential for the government as well.

To convince Marxist doubters of this unorthodox idea, Mr. Yasinitsky points out that cucumbers and tomatoes already command higher-than-official off-season prices in farmers' markets.

## The right way for the Left?

By Francis Reamy  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

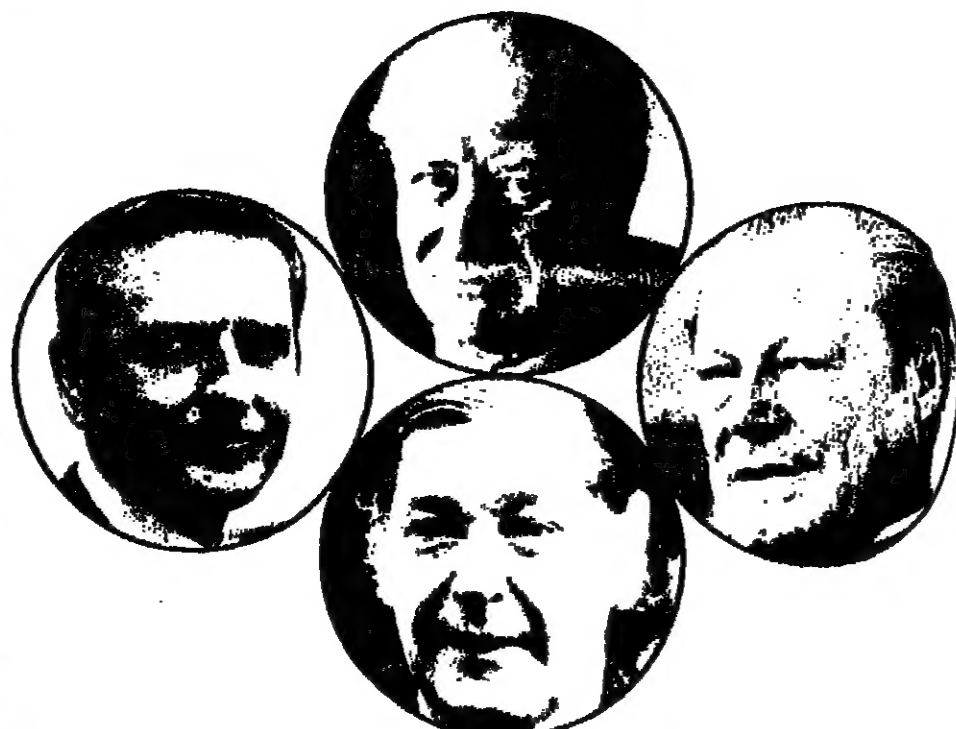
London  
Just as Britain's Labour Party is being exposed in the mass media for swinging too far to the left — and is having fears of its own about Trotskyist infiltration — one of its major theorists has tried to put it back on the right road. Among other things, he rejects the Marxist dogma of total nationalization, saying it is no kind of socialism to transfer business from private bureaucracy to public bureaucracy.

The theorist is Anthony Crosland, Secretary of State for the Environment, former Oxford lecturer, protégé of Hugh Dalton and Hugh Gaitskell, self-declared Social Democrat, and evident bon vivant. Mr. Crosland's views have appeared in a newly published Fabian Society tract "Social Democracy in Europe." It is somewhat ironic that another book on European Socialism, just published by Willy Brandt of West Germany, Bruno Kreisky of Austria and Olof Palme of Sweden, scarcely finds British Social Democracy worth mentioning. Nor has Mr. Crosland much to say about the closer international collaboration between socialist parties that his continental colleagues stress.

What they do have in common, though, is an emphasis on democracy as such and upon the need to carry it beyond Parliament into other sections of the power structure.

Mr. Crosland goes out of his way to disparage communism. He declares that ownership of the means of production is no longer the key factor. Indeed, he says, "a mixed economy is essential to Social Democracy... complete State collectivism is without question incompatible with liberty and democracy." Less outright statements than that have had men based off the platform at Labour meetings. Crosland goes on to say that democracy is the unbridgeable gulf between communism and his kind of socialism; democracy and a passionate concern for liberty and the rule of law.

But before the progressive wing of the Conservative Party start making room for Anthony Crosland, they had better read on. He denounces the new, Thatcherite, brand of Conservatism which proclaims the virtue and necessity of inequality — "on the grounds (as Mrs. Thatcher has put it) that equal opportunity must include the opportunity to be unequal. Mr. Crosland thinks this is no less than the assertion of the rights of privilege. By equality (he says) he means more than a meritocracy in which unequal rewards go to those who are fortunate in their family backgrounds; and more, too, than a mere



Clockwise from the left: Olof Palme, Bruno Kreisky, Willy Brandt, Anthony Crosland  
Europe's writing socialists

redistribution of income. He goes on to quote figures showing that since 1939, there has in fact been considerable reduction of financial inequality.

Yet, says Mr. Crosland, the wealthy are still throwing their money about offensively. And class attitudes and prejudices are still refusing to break down. Even the shift from private to public spending does not necessarily increase equality. The growth of comprehensive state schooling has not altered the fact that so much still depends on the backgrounds the children come from.

In a revealing passage that might be applied to many of his own colleagues and their way of life, Mr. Crosland complains: "We underestimate the capacity of the middle classes to appropriate more than their fair share of public expenditure... Too often their pressures have been successful."

Now Mr. Crosland proposes to overcome this innate talent for survival of the middle classes is not apparent. But tossing out Marx's outdated analysis he decides that what is really needed is "a more profound industrial democracy... more democratic control over private and public bureaucracies... a greater sense of community... evaluating all of which is in the pre-Marx traditions of

the native English Left. It is the third major theoretical work Mr. Crosland has issued in 20 years, but it has still not carried him into serious contention for the leadership of his party: perhaps because in Britain, as in the United States, intellectuals seldom find favor with the electorate as a whole.

And it has to be admitted there is a certain unreality about the essay. While lauding the progress that Social Democracy has made in Germany, Austria, the Low Countries and Scandinavia since World War II, Crosland glosses over the fact that the Labour Party in Britain actually has fewer voters than it had in 1945. Union domination and the dogma of nationalization must surely be a large part of the reason, yet the Social Democrats in the Labour Party seem incapable of recognizing this on their own.

Not that the Conservatives have cause to congratulate themselves, either. As Edward Heath told a business conference in Rome recently: "Private Enterprise is viewed with profound indifference by the British people (even though) it is responsible for 90 percent of our exports and provides over 70 percent of the country's jobs."

Which confirms the view that the basic problem of British politics — at of British business — is sheer lack of confidence.

## Closely observed trains

By David Mutch

Stuttgart, Germany  
The floor of the train compartment had just enough room for their legs and the three roped cardboard boxes. The Portuguese couple was hastily stowing away packages, suitcases, and coats, while their two children bounced on the seats and peered out of the open window.

Down the train's long aisle suitcases and box lunches were being passed in through the windows. Handshakes, hugs, and good-byes followed. The train pulled out at 10:48 a.m. on the dot bound for Spain and Portugal after a few more stops in West Germany.

On board were about 500 of the 2.1 million foreign workers who have left their home countries to make a living in West Germany. About 100,000 of these workers and their families are riding special German Federal Railroad trains, such as this one, home for the holidays this year. Another 200,000 will take regularly scheduled trains. But without the 85 special trains to Spain, Portugal, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey, the regular trains would be swamped.

The decision of whether or not to go home for the holidays is especially difficult for a lot of foreign workers this year. With over a million unemployed here now, there is great political pressure to force some of the 2.1 million foreign workers to go home permanently. There is heated discussion in Bonn of a number of possible ways to do this.

The train at the Stuttgart station was scheduled to arrive in Madrid at 4:30 p.m. the next day and in Lisbon at 2 a.m. the morning after that. Passengers carried their own food because there was no dining car. Each had all his baggage with him, ready for his stop — one of 10 to this train was making in France, Spain, and Portugal. Small children were prepared to sleep on padded luggage carriers above the seats. Blankets and pillows were supplied for everyone.

The railroad station looked like an immigration center thrown into reverse. Travelers had arrived early from areas all around Stuttgart and stood or sat in groups watching their luggage, talking, and waiting.

A Turk came up to Manuel Pereira and wanted to borrow his luggage cart. After a bit of persuasion the Portuguese yielded, and the cart was returned in five minutes with a polite nod.

Mr. Pereira has been in West Germany for two years. He has a wife and child in Portugal. He worked for 10 years in a textile plant there, but has a well-paying job now as a machinist here. He wants to stay in West Germany as long as there is work, he says. He may bring his family back eventually, but not this trip.

Juan Garcia, is a Spaniard and also a machinist. His wife and two children live with him in West Germany. He has been here 11 years, but says, "The politics is against foreigners now; it isn't as good in Germany as it used to be."

This season 50,000 fewer foreign workers than last will travel home over the holidays. One reason is that some feel they might lose their jobs if they leave. Others are out of work themselves and don't have enough money to travel home even though fares are very reasonable.

Some 35 percent of the Italians working here are going home this time of year, 30 percent of the Yugoslavs, 12 percent each of the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Greek, and only 3 percent of the Islamic Turks.

Many non-German construction workers will stay away until early spring when the weather is better. Most of the hard-working holiday travelers though, will be back within a month to six weeks.

Among them will be Spaniard Gregorio Sanchez who has lived here 11 years. He has a wife and two daughters working at the same German firm at which he works and a 12-year-old son in school.

But our conversation ended in a flurry of excitement. Railroad officials were scolding stragglers onto the train. The destinations — Vigo, Spain; Ruma, Yugoslavia; Bari and Reggio, Italy; Salonika, Greece; Istanbul, Turkey — numbered in the hundreds.



Better days for Lisbon: children play oblivious of poster proclaiming extremist revolutionary party

Sven Simon

## Angry Portuguese farmers demand land back

By Helen Gibson  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon and its ownership — one of the least publicized but perhaps the most bitterly felt issue of the Portuguese 20-month-old revolution — promises to become a major problem ahead for the government.

To anyone watching the more than 20,000 angry farmers who congregated in this small town 60 miles north of Lisbon on a cold damp afternoon recently, it was evident these men meant business.

The farmers, in their Sunday-best caps or the flatblack sombreros of the south, talked between themselves quietly as they waited for the meeting to open. There was none of the excitable discussion of the industrial workers' rallies of Lisbon, but a steady grim sense of purpose. The men were there to discuss that very basic age-old problem — how to defend their land.

The farmers' bitterness has been provoked

by the agrarian reform law, which, through a complicated system of points, has been enforcing the expropriation of land from farmers owning as little as 20 or 22 acres. The point system, as explained by the farmers, is partly based on the productivity of the land. It takes no account of whether a man has spent all his savings and a lifetime of hard work to improve it. If one man has a neglected farm and his neighbor has identical land that he has worked up into a fruitful holding, it is the hard-working farmer that suffers.

As one of the first speakers launched into his speech he said, "We're not Cubans, or Russians, or Chinese. We're Portuguese. We don't want our land taken from us." His voice cracked with emotion and the crowd raised dozens of black umbrellas and roared their approval.

Before the meeting one of the organizers told me that the farmers were not used to fighting for their rights, that they had accepted all the hardships of the previous

regime without protest. "But things have gone too far in this revolution. We must unite," he said.

One of the outcomes of the Rio Maior rally was the organization of a national farmers' organization with an official secretariat.

And perhaps even more significantly, the organizers could not get endorsed by the gathering any resolution on land seizures except one demanding that all expropriated land be returned to its owners.

If the government is not prepared to listen to the farmers, it may be in for a lot of trouble. It was in Rio Maior where the first anti-Communist violence of last summer exploded and resulted in sweeping through northern and central Portugal.

And on the night before the leftist military uprising some three weeks ago, it was the farmers of the Rio Maior district that barricaded roads and railways cutting Lisbon off from the north to demand the government listen to their complaints.

## Cheap recruit policy

## French Army pounce on soldiers' committees

By John Cadman  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris  
The problem is simply put: Can you have a trades union in an army?

Among the NATO allies the only country to have one is the Netherlands.

The question is raised because the French have just arrested 16 draftees accused of attempting to demoralize the French Army by setting up a trade union in the form of "soldiers' committees."

These committees, based at local regimental level, would meet regularly to discuss conditions and pay, and try to improve them. The 16, from various commands in France, are now in custody awaiting trial, which may take a year or so. They face sentences of up to 10 years in jail.

Every Frenchman (but not Frenchwomen) must serve a year in the armed forces. Ever since the revolution in 1789 this has been the law. Their education may be interrupted, their hair cut, and their liberal 1970s habits subject to the rigors of military discipline.

Most of the 285,000 draftees in the French

Army come from families who vote Socialist or Communist. How does that come about when the President is conservative?

Well-to-do families have hitherto been able to send their sons to higher seats of learning without being called up for military service until the very last moment (age 25) and then not really for military service but for what is called "technical assistance" abroad (a sort of U.S. Peace Corps), devoted to their own specialty.

The poorer lads are called up at 18 and sweat it out for 12 months under some sergeant in the provinces or perhaps with the small French contingent in West Germany.

Both in Germany and in France the draftees live for the most part in old barracks, many of which were built before the 1914-1918 war. Despite a recent tripling of pay they receive a pittance of a wage — the French soldier's pay is the lowest in NATO at about \$200 a month.

The official French governmental explanation of the present unrest is that the draftees have been got at by outside sources. These consist, according to explanations that vary day by day, of the French Socialist Party and/or West German leftists and leftists in the

Portuguese Army, who are alleged to have visited France to stir up trouble.

The facts lie somewhere in between. It is true that the French draftee has a hard lot (but nowhere near so hard as, for example, his Soviet contemporary).

France has traditionally had a source of cheap labor in the draft force.

In 1976 wages for draftees will have to be hiked and conditions improved. Otherwise, President Giscard d'Estaing will have a force for political dissension on his hands, and the Socialists and the Communists, who came very near to winning the presidency in 1974, will make an election issue out of it in the parliamentary elections in 1978.

An obvious solution to the problem would be to make the French Army a professional all-volunteer army like that of the United States and of Britain. That solution the French reject. It would, they say, cost too much money.

They not only prefer to have cheap recruits — the "poilus" of World War I memory, but they insist that a period in the Army in some way integrates the totality of the French nation. The 18 now on trial would say no to that point.



# Europe

## Schmidt rules out spy swap in Guenter Guillaume case

By David Mutch  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

East Germany is expected to offer West Germany a "deal" in order to get back its top spy Guenter Guillaume, who was sentenced to 13 years in prison for treason by a West German court this week.

But, owing to the political sensitivity of the case, no deal is likely before the West German general elections due in the fall of 1976. In fact, after the verdict was handed down, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's government pledged that Guillaume would not be freed in any spy exchange.

The court sentenced Guillaume's wife, Christel, to eight years in jail for treason and complicity in her husband's activities.

The couple arrived in West Germany as refugees from the East 19 years ago. Guillaume worked his way up to become personal aid to former Chancellor Willy Brandt and had access to secret documents including NATO material and correspondence with former

U.S. President Richard Nixon. His arrest in April, 1974, led two weeks later to Mr. Brandt's resignation from the chancellorship.

Trading of prisoners has become a behind-the-scenes practice between the two Germans. And Guillaume's formidable record of infiltrating the power pinnacle in West Germany makes him a prime candidate for such a deal.

But too many people were hurt and embarrassed by the Guillaume affair — including top officials of the West German internal security agency — to make it politically possible for Bonn to grant an early release to the Guillaumes.

The question being asked here is: How many and which political prisoners will East Germany offer in exchange for this top spy team?

Each year West Germany "buys" the political freedom of about 1,200 people imprisoned in East Germany. Up to \$20,000 per person is paid. Since 1969 about 6,000 people have been freed in this way. Negotiations are handled by attorneys of both sides.



Guenter and Christel Guillaume in intimate moment after sentencing

## Wilson's stock plummets after Chrysler bail out, shock report

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

A shattering report on the British car industry by the government's "think tank" has put the judgment and credibility of Harold Wilson's Labour Party government on the line.

The report came within days of the government's decision to pour out to £182.5 million (about \$335 million) into deeply troubled Chrysler-U.K.

The "think tank," more formally known as the Central Policy Review Staff, blames both management and the work force for the British car industry's mess, and says that without fundamental changes in attitudes on both sides, British cars could go the way of British motorcycles — that is, practically disappear as a viable industry.

"Too many manufacturers with too many models, too many plants and too much capacity" are problems of the British car industry, the report said. Without immediate reforms, the industry could lose 275,000 workers by 1985 and the balance of trade in cars would deteriorate by £1 billion (over \$2 billion), the report warned.

The report has been known to the government for weeks, but was made public only a few hours before Industry Secretary Eric Varley announced details of the Chrysler bailout operation to the House of Commons on Tuesday.

One typical reaction was that of Sir Kenneth Keith, chairman of government-owned Rolls-Royce aircraft engine company, who said "it annoys me to see money being put into Chrysler." Rolls-Royce, rescued by the then Conservative government and taken over in

1971, has just begun to turn the corner with an £80 million (\$160 million) deal to supply Spey engines to China. But Sir Keith says his company still needs another \$100 million to meet working capital requirements next year.

"This is a long-term, high-risk business," Sir Keith said of Britain's aerospace industry. "The government should not be handing out aid to aerospace companies parsimoniously, like casting bones to starving dogs."

Sir Keith's point is that the government should be concentrating its aid on a few highly promising export-oriented industries like his own instead of being swayed by short-term political considerations as in the Chrysler bailout.

Politicians and labor unions are equally scathing in their comments on the Chrysler deal. The Left is upset because the govern-

ment seems simply to be underwriting Chrysler's losses without gaining any share of control over the management.

"It is now clear that the government has sacrificed its whole industrial strategy by giving in without a struggle to short-term pressures," said Margaret Thatcher, leader of the opposition Conservatives. "In the long run they will not save jobs, they will destroy them."

Even some of the government's friends looked on the Chrysler decision as an aberration. "Chrysler has had ten years in which to make a success of its British operation," said one sympathetic observer. "It has failed. The government's decision to bail it out makes sense only if it is viewed as an exception to its general policy. And the more exceptions there are the more the government's credibility is at stake."

## Terror sieges: cool wins out

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

"You're generous with patience and generous with nothing else," British Home Secretary Roy Jenkins said in explaining police tactics which induced four Irish Republican Army (IRA) terrorists to surrender peacefully recently without harming their two hostages.

Dutch police, following similar tactics, obtained the likewise peaceful surrender Sunday of six South Moluccan terrorists who had been holding a whole train hostage for 12 days.

Police in three countries — the Irish Republic, Britain, and now the Netherlands — can credit patience as having been their major weapon in their successful contest with desperate and apparently keenly motivated political terrorists.

They were also helped, in the case of the Irish Republic and Britain, by the courage and steadiness under the most trying circumstances of the hostages themselves — Mr. and Mrs. John Mathews of London and the Dutch industrialist Dr. Niede Herrema. Dr. Herrema, whose ordeal lasted one month, has returned to a hero's welcome in the Irish Republic and with the advice that anyone in a comparable situation should behave as "normally" as possible and try to establish friendly human relations with one's captors.

In all three cases — the Irish Republic, Britain, and the Netherlands — the terrorists were told from the start that neither their political demands nor their demands for personal freedom would be met.

Patience won out and — despite discouragement toward the end when it looked as though the terrorists might be preparing to blow up the train — the final outcome was a happy one.

In the case of Britain, besides the patience of police and hostages, political courage was also shown by Members of Parliament who had to vote on whether or not to restore capital punishment for acts of terrorism.

The siege of the four IRA terrorists and their middle-aged hostages in a Marylebone flat followed a whole series of bombing and other outrages in and around London. The most recent one was the murder of publisher Ross McWhirter on his own doorstep. According to police, one of the terrorists now detained was almost certainly responsible for this murder.

This information came to light just before the House of Commons held its debate on capital punishment last Thursday. There was growing public clamor for this penalty to be restored. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, leader of the Conservative Opposition, said the terrorists had "lost their right to live."

Government spokesmen, notably Mr. Jenkins, argued passionately against restoring capital punishment, not so much on the basis of whether it was morally right or wrong, but rather on the basis that doing so "would not diminish the risks to our people, or police, and our security services."

In the end, the vote was 233 for capital punishment, 361 against. The totals last year when the situation was calmer were 217 for, 369 against — not very different, considering what has happened in between.

## Spain scents liberty after years of Franco iron hand

By Richard Mowrer  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

King Juan Carlos's new government has revived hope for wider civil liberties in Spain — despite the disappointment of some of his earlier moves ascending the throne last month.

The new Cabinet's reform plans, announced Monday, puts broadening of civil liberties at the top of the list, together with the right of association. The pledge is made in a policy declaration made public following a Cabinet meeting chaired by the King.

Under the late Gen. Francisco Franco freedom of speech and association were — and still are — subject to severe restrictions.

Other highlights of the government's declaration:

- "Representative institutions" — presumed to mean above all the Franco regime's puppet parliament — are to be more broadly based "to bring Spain more into line with Western Europe." At present only 104 of Parliament's 561 members are chosen by popular vote. Town mayors are appointed, not elected by the people.

- "Participation by the citizens and social organizations without discrimination or favor is indispensable" for carrying out "necessary reforms, the government believes."

- Regionalism and local autonomy are to be given recognition, thereby "strengthening the unity of Spain." Catalonia, Galicia, and per-

ticularly the Basque region of northern Spain long resented General Franco's central government and its suppression of regional identities.

- "The government proposes to persevere in the building of a Spanish democracy that cannot be harmed by any totalitarian menace." The word "totalitarian" is thought to refer above all to communism.

- "The government invites all citizens individually and collectively to participate in public affairs. It affirms that responsible criticism is a relevant function in such participation."

- "The acceptance of sacrifices and renunciations is indispensable in order to make of Spain a country that is more united, more free, and more just. No coercion of any sort will force the government to deviate from the course it has set itself."

The government's declaration speaks of the "constant need to perfect the institutional system" inherited from General Franco. But it omits the usual ritual phrases of the Franco era: "acceptance of the institutional order," "acceptance of the principles of the National Movement." Instead, it calls for the peaceful coexistence and concord "of all those individuals, groups, or tendencies who accept a just and democratic order together with respect for the laws and public order."

There have been government promises of democratic reform before. But General Franco was then chief of state and the reforms did not materialize.

## Kremlin sees hairline cracks in Soviet solidarity

By Paul Wohl  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Seldom has Moscow's policy been as contradictory as it has become in the past few months. It is as if the men in the Kremlin felt a tremor in the massive Soviet edifice.

An almost unprecedented crop failure after months of triumphant communiques and tens of billions of rubles invested in agriculture. A grain deficit of close to 60 million tons to be covered by imports. The need to slaughter much of the livestock built up in modern feedlots installed by French and American specialists. Shortages of potatoes and beets. Large unfilled food export commitments to Eastern Europe and "third world" countries. A foreign debt of \$4.5 billion requiring about \$300 million in interest payments a year.

These are but a few of the Kremlin's problems. The immediate reaction has been to tighten the hatches. Consumer needs, which party and government had promised to promote, have been scaled down severely in the plan for 1976. Major work projects have been suspended.

The people are restive. Youth and non-Russian ethnic are factions, as indicated by a rapid-fire shift of top police officers from one republic and province to another.

The regime's concern is attested by the somersaults of its ideologists. In less than six weeks the Kremlin's attitude toward the long-delayed conference of European Communist parties has turned full circle.

After Konstantin I. Zoradov's hard-line article Aug. 8 in Pravda, the Communist Party newspaper, Pravda adopted an increasingly hard-line policy directly opposed to the position of the principal West European parties.

When delegations of the 28 European parties met in East Berlin in November, Soviet Central Committee Secretary Konstantin M. Katusev, who headed his country's delegation, told the West European Communist leaders that they had fallen into the revisionist position of social democracy.

This attack on the conciliatory line of the Italian, Spanish, and French parties was buttressed by an article by Soviet ideologist Salomon Givlov in No. 15 of Kommunist, the Central Committee's theoretical and political journal. Among other things the article dealt with "the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world" and with "the approaching victory of socialist revolution."

The hope for a conference of European parties before the Soviet party congress in February seemed to be lost. "We can wait," Mr. Katusev is reported to have told the West Europeans.

The Italian party responded with unusual sharpness. Italian Politburo member Gian Carlo Pajetta wrote in the party weekly Rinascita of Nov. 28: "We are resolutely opposed to all forms of liturgical solidarity which would reduce the Communist parties to increasingly ineffectual propaganda organs."

But four days before Mr. Pajetta's article appeared, the Soviets had pulled in their horns. In an article on "Revolution and Democracy" squeezed into No. 17 of Kommunist at the last moment, S. Saltychev had approvingly quoted Italian party leader Enrico Berlinguer.

Dec. 8, Polish party leader Edward Gierek told the Polish party congress, "We share the opinion of the other fraternal parties on the question of cooperation with socialists, social democrats, and other democratic forces." Mr. Brezhnev responded by conducting the singing of the "Internationale" with sweeping gestures.

There are two plausible explanations for this Soviet about-face: One is the Kremlin's increasing concern as economic difficulties pile up. The other is the abortive coup of the Portuguese Communists of Nov. 25. That may have sobered the hard-line firebrands.

Mr. Brezhnev's recent decision to have senior Politburo member Mikhail A. Suslov head the Soviet delegation at the first Cuban party congress, which he had promised to attend, probably is a move to shift the burden of a dialectical explanation of the Kremlin's political somersaults to the Soviet Politburo's No. 1 ideologist.



Dushanbe bazaar, Tadzhikistan, U.S.S.R.

By Elizabeth Pond

Not all Soviet people conform to the norm

## Soviet economic policy: tractors before butter

By Elizabeth Pond  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Ivan Ivanovich will not get a consumer economy in the next five years. Instead, industry will continue to get the lion's share of Soviet resources and will resume ambitious growth rates after a 1976 pause for major plant overhauls.

Farmers' income is scheduled to rise, however, and the massive agricultural investment of the past decade will continue. In agriculture, earlier Western estimates of the poor 1975 grain harvest of only 137 million tons have been obliquely confirmed.

These are the major points in the outline of the 10th economic plan for 1976-80 that appeared in Pravda, the Communist Party organ, Dec. 14.

In what is standard practice in the Soviet Union, heavy industry is slated to rise the fastest, with a total increase of 38 to 42 percent by 1980, or a little less than the 43 percent increase over the past five years. With only a modest 4.9 percent growth planned for next year, this presupposes an average growth in following four years of over 7 percent.

The fastest growth of all is to be reserved for chemical, machine building, and similar industries.

Light consumer industry is to grow only 30 to 32 percent during the next five years, lower than the 37 percent growth in the last five-year plan. With only 2.7 percent growth planned for next year, this presupposes an average growth in the following four years of a little over 7 percent.

The five-year plan just ended originally called for higher consumer than industrial

growth rates, but they were abandoned halfway through the plan.

Overall industrial increase in the tenth five-year plan is 35 to 39 percent. With a modest 4.3 percent growth planned for next year. This presupposes an average growth thereafter of about 7 percent.

The projected industrial growth confirms the initial Western analysis of the 1976 targets announced a week ago — the lowest since World War II.

These rates apparently do not reflect any settling for a slower growth as the economy matures. Rather, they indicate that major efforts will be made to install new plants and to modernize and re-equip old plants in 1976 to resume the growth rates of the past.

Thus, quality and efficiency are to be the watchwords for the new five-year plan. In particular, troublesome delays in getting new

plants into operation are to be reduced.

In agriculture some 171.7 billion rubles (\$248.9 billion) are to be invested — an expansion from the already huge 131 billion rubles of the last five-year plan. Widespread irrigation projects are to continue, fertilizer production and use is to be increased, and there is to be maximum sowing and increased use of hybrids.

Planners optimistically aim for 215-220 million tons of grain per year — in contrast to an estimated 137 million tons in this drought year. The new five-year plan gives an average grain figure for the past five years of over 180 million tons. In a roundabout way this confirms earlier estimates of 137 tons for this year's harvest — and could even accommodate a figure as low as 133 million tons.

The incomes of farmers, who except in the Baltic area have a much lower standard of living than workers, are to increase an average 24 to 27 percent. This is still below industrial production increases — and the planned productivity increase of 30 to 34 percent — but it is higher than the planned 18 to 18 percent (about 3 percent a year) wage increases for factory and office workers.

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# Middle East

## Beirut's sixteenth truce just might last longer

By William Blakemore  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut  
Lebanon's latest cease-fire has brought withdrawal of most opposing gunmen from strategic positions in the seaside hotel district, and a degree of cautious optimism about the truce's durability.

On Tuesday, the improved atmosphere brought opening of some shops for the first time since the outbreak Dec. 7 of the latest round in the civil war.

Some shooting continued between the mainly Christian Beirut suburb of Ain al-Roumaneh and the Muslim district of Shiah and also in the northern port of Tripoli, but there was a significant drop in the intensity of the fighting.

The more optimistic observers here justified their forecasts that the 10th truce since the fighting began last April might last longer by pointing to increased recent involvement of Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the search for peace.

Though an expected visit of Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam failed to materialize Tuesday, the Damascus regime has been in constant contact with Beirut and continues to be regarded here as the only effective outside Arab mediator.

This is because Syria's own self-interest in a peaceful Lebanon is strong. Syrian President Hafez al-Assad has often expressed concern about possible Israeli military moves into Lebanon which could enable Israel to outflank Syrian forces defending Damascus from the west.

According to the Associated Press, Lebanese Premier Rashid Karami claimed Tuesday that Israel was preparing to invade Lebanon on the pretext of rescuing the tiny

Jewish community in Beirut. An Israeli spokesman denied the report and called Mr. Karami's statement "just silliness."

Mr. Karami said he had heard of Israel's plan in an English-language broadcast over Israel Radio Tuesday morning. But in Tel Aviv, Radio Israel denied broadcasting any such plan or anything resembling it. "There are no such preparations," said an Israeli military spokesman.

Recent visits to Damascus by both rightist Christian Falange Party leader Pierre Jemayel and leftist Socialist leader Kamal Jumblatt seem to have produced common ground between conservatives of both sides. Consensus has emerged between them, Syria, and PLO chairman Yasser Arafat that calm in Lebanon is essential.

On the Muslim left, Mr. Arafat has exerted considerable effort to assert PLO control over unruly leftist elements who seem to be drawing away from complete dependence on the Palestinians and Syrians for arms and supplies.

On the Christian right — whose gunmen in the city candidly admitted during the week they had lost some ground in the fighting — traditional leaders like Mr. Jemayel and Interior Minister Camille Chamoun face pressure from more extreme right-wing Roman Catholic groups such as the Order of Maronite Monks, the Maronite League, and the Guards of the Cedars.

The latter body's insignia bear the motto, "Not one Palestinian left on Lebanese soil."

Among political peace efforts headed by Premier Karami is a special parliamentary initiative committee for constitutional reform. It has proposed revising the election law to divide the parliamentary seats between Christians and Muslims on a 50-50 basis, instead of the present 6-to-5 formula in favor of the Christians.

## Rabin's rivals close in

By Francis Omer  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Tel Aviv, Israel  
Potential rivals of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin have fired the opening salvos in what may develop into a power struggle for the Israeli office he holds.

So far Mr. Rabin remains firmly in the saddle. But for the first time since he became party leader and Prime Minister in June last year the public has been given the feeling that Mr. Rabin may not last indefinitely.

Most of the first skirmishes have been behind the closed doors of his own Labor Party, although part of the struggle has filtered into the open.

Three issues have sparked the current ferment:

1. The blow to Mr. Rabin's prestige by what Israelis regard as the erosion of U.S. support for Israel.

2. Mr. Rabin's surprise compromise with Israeli right-wingers who demanded permission to build a Jewish settlement in the heart of the former Jordanian West Bank.

3. Mr. Rabin's failure to consult with his party apparatus on key decisions in the past few months.

The first to fire his political artillery was Foreign Minister Yigal Allon, who in Israel's war of independence in 1948 had been Mr. Rabin's commanding officer, but who now is a subordinate of the Prime Minister. In unusually frequent appearances in public forums during the last two weeks, Mr. Allon has been stressing his own moderate line on the Palestinian question in what appears to be an effort to wrest the mantle of leadership of Israel's doves from his predecessor at the Foreign Ministry, Abba Eban.

Unlike Mr. Rabin, Mr. Allon refused in a recent television interview to categorically rule out the possibility of a separate Palestinian state on the West Bank. But he agreed with current government policy that such a state today would be out of the question.



Yitzhak Rabin

Mr. Allon's remarks in the TV interview prompted the moderator to question his aspirations for the premiership. With surprising frankness the Foreign Minister replied that he had no doubts of his capabilities but doubted only his acceptability to the Israeli voter. He added that he was satisfied with his current position.

The offensive of the doves has proved a two-edged sword, prompting behind-the-scenes counteractivity by the hawks. But hawkishly inclined Defense Minister Shimon Peres, who fought Mr. Rabin for party leadership after the fall of Prime Minister Golda Meir, has so far remained quiet. His name is most frequently mentioned as a possible successor to Mr. Rabin if the latter leaves office.

Some other names are also circulated as possible replacements for Mr. Rabin as the debate sharpens. These include Justice Minister Chaim Zadok, former Foreign Minister Abba Eban, and Ra'ufa Mayor Yosef Almog.

The power struggle although only in its opening stages may be premature, Mr. Rabin has been steadily building his hold on the country's top job.



Dhofar vigil: Omani soldier scans terrain for insurgents

## British-led army routs Marxist rebels in Arabia's 'secret war'

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut  
The Arabian peninsula's largely forgotten guerrilla war in Dhofar seems to be petering out although the Marxist rebels opposing the Western-backed Sultan of Oman — within whose realm Dhofar lies — say they will continue their "revolution."

Iranian Foreign Minister Abbas Ali Khamenei said in Tehran that Iranian troops supporting the Sultan's army will withdraw only when Sultan Qabus declares they are no longer needed.

Last week, the Sultan's spokesman in Muscat announced that all rebel guerrillas had been cleared from western Dhofar province, adjoining the People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen which supports the rebels. This followed bombardments and air strikes on South Yemen territory by the Sultan's forces.

The Muscat victory statement came soon after last month's visit to Oman by British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan. In Salalah, Dhofar's capital, he discussed Dhofar's economic reconstruction with Sultan Qabus and conferred with Maj. Gen. Kenneth Perkins, British operational commander of the 14,000-man Omani forces. General Perkins is one of about 350 British and Commonwealth officers serving the Sultan, either on contract or leave from the British services.

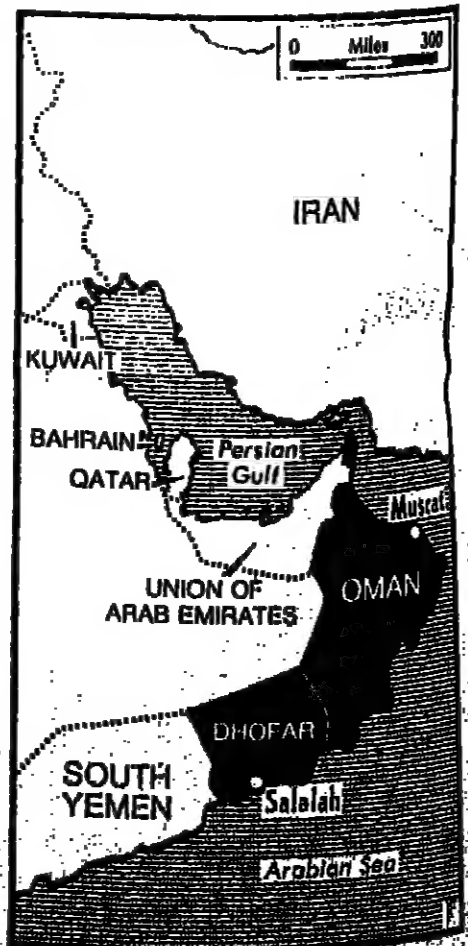
Iranian forces have reportedly fluctuated between 1,500 and 5,000 men including a commando battalion and supporting helicopter gunships with service units. The Shah of Iran has said they would stay to help block any hostile take-over of the crucial Strait of Hormuz, controlling the oil supply routes out of the Persian Gulf to the West and Far East.

In Algiers last week, a leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO), the guerrilla political organization which has ties with radical Palestinian groups, denied that the PFLO was ready to stop fighting. "The Oman revolution will go on," he told the Algerian daily newspaper Al Moudjahid. Since the war began in 1965, the rebels have

had some Soviet, Cuban, and Chinese support as well as use of the South Yemen sanctuary. Peking withdrew aid after it opened full diplomatic relations with Tehran in 1972.

Saudi Arabia, which has regarded South Yemen's radical regime as a threat to its own interests, has been negotiating with the South Yemenis over Dhofar. Last month Saudi Crown Prince Fahd met with South Yemen Foreign Minister Muhammad Saleh Muten in Abu Dhabi.

In an interview with the Kuwait daily newspaper Al Had al Aam, Prince Fahd expressed open Saudi opposition to Iranian and other foreign involvement in Oman.



# Asia

## Slow land reform perils Marcos New Society

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Manila  
Just one month after assuming martial law powers in September, 1972, President Ferdinand E. Marcos declared the "emancipation" of hundreds of thousands of Philippine tenant farmers under a new land-reform decree.

The president subsequently described his land-reform program — under which the tenants were to obtain ownership of the land they tilled — the most important of all the martial law programs, the cornerstone of his "New Society," and the answer to communist-led attempts to organize a revolution in the countryside.

More than three years after the dramatic announcement of his emancipation decree, Mr. Marcos can safely say his government has accomplished more than any previous administration in the land-reform field. In the 1950s and 1960s, landlord-dominated congresses consistently emasculated land-reform legislation or failed to provide the money to make it work.

Mr. Marcos also can boast of having done more than any predecessor to organize the cooperatives, provide the credit to rural areas, and build the road and irrigation systems essential to the success of land reform.

But a slowdown in the distribution to tenants of land-transfer certificates, evidence of innumerable violations of the law by landowners, and the negotiation of compensation to landowners that has often come to two or three times what was originally intended have led many independent experts to question the ultimate outcome of the program. It appears increasingly safe to say his land-reform program is not going to come near achieving what was at first promised.

To begin with, the land-reform program as it now stands is limited to rice and corn lands and excludes tenant farmers who work on sugar and coconut lands. It also allows most of the owners of rice and corn lands of fewer than 17.3 acres — and more than one-half the tenants on rice and corn land till this category of land — to retain those lands under leasehold arrangements.

A total of 915,000 tenant farmers are eligible for land ownership under the reform. Official

figures indicate more than 200,000 had received land-transfer certificates as of last Oct. 27. But only a few hundred landowners have been fully compensated, and most of the tenants must still make substantial payments over a 15-year period to acquire full ownership of the land.

The land-reform program fails to benefit the landless day-wage laborers in the rural areas. Reliable statistics on their numbers are not available. But one can find some barrios (districts) in central Luzon where they constitute fully one-third of the work force. And, given the Philippines' high population growth rate and the absence of employment opportunities to keep pace with it, their numbers are steadily growing.

Skeptics doubt the ability of many of the former tenants to act as independent farmers free of the debts that have for so long hobbled them, and one expert predicts even if the current land-reform program succeeds, "this generation's land beneficiaries will probably become the next generation's landlords."

One of the negative side effects of the reform of rice and corn holdings has been a high rate of eviction of tenants on coconut lands by owners who fear their lands may come next. President Marcos recognizes this problem by promising a decree prohibiting sugar and coconut plantation owners from dismissing their workers without government permission. But some observers say he has moved too late.

In fairness, it should be noted that land reform would be no easy task under any government in the Philippines, given a long history of what are described as feudalistic relationships in the countryside, an absence of accurate records for much of the land involved, and a ratio of government agrarian-reform workers to tenants that is much less favorable than that which Japan or Taiwan enjoyed in carrying out their land reform programs.

The government has been careful to give fair treatment to the small landowners, who are obtaining what most experts consider more than adequate payments for their land. Far from being helpless, the small landowners in many areas have organized themselves and offered increasing resistance to the agrarian-reform program. A government delay in moving into the 17.3-to-49.3 acre category of



Rice threshing west of Manila

land holdings gave many of them the time they needed

"With a reform like this, time is of the essence," said one foreign land-reform expert. "The longer the reform drags out, the more difficult it is to implement, the more abuses and resistance there are, and the more negotiation and arbitration it takes."

What if land reform fails?

The experts are divided on this. Some think expectations have been raised so high by government promises that an explosive situation would develop. The leader of the agrarian-reform team in central Luzon de-

clared if land reform failed he was certain there would be yet another uprising in that important rice-growing region like the one which occurred in the early 1950s. But other experts argue tenancy was just one of a number of causes for the past unrest in central Luzon, and that the failure of land reform would not necessarily lead to an open rebellion.

What seems likely to some observers after so many promises and so much rhetoric is that the failure of the program would contribute to an apathy and cynicism, which, while perhaps not as dangerous to the New Society as open rebellion, could still help undermine it.

## War 'inevitable' if U.S. pulls out of Taiwan says paper

By William Armbruster  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Taipei, Taiwan  
President Ford's recent trip to China was the latest in a series of diplomatic setbacks for Taiwan dating back to 1971.

But while most Taiwanese were displeased by the Ford visit, they expressed relief that nothing concretely affecting their country had been decided by the U.S. leader and his hosts in Peking.

Some persons here, in fact, were more mystified than anything else that the Ford visit failed to produce a final communiqué. The China Post, in an editorial, said this development showed "that the Maoists... had failed to make Ford accept their views on several major issues."

The local news media actually gave little coverage to the Ford visit, with certain exceptions. The President's nearly two-hour visit with Chairman Mao Tse-tung was reported, and the China Post warned that Mr. Ford's repeated commitment to normalizing relations with Peking clearly indicated "a danger of further appeasement measures being taken by the United States."

However, the same editorial went on to reassure readers that formal U.S. recognition of Peking would face great domestic opposition in the United States. It cited a Gallup poll that indicated 70 percent of Americans would not favor full diplomatic ties with Peking if it meant that ties with Taiwan had to be broken.

Another paper, the China News, claimed that the Taiwan issue, and not detente between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, was actually first on the agenda for the four-day visit in Peking.

It said in an editorial that Peking would promise anything to get the Americans out of Taiwan and gain formal U.S. recognition. But "once the Chinese communists had what they wanted, their pledges would be as worthless as those of the Vietnam communists in the Paris agreement that doomed South Vietnam."

The China News said Taiwan still believes that the U.S. is "honorably motivated," but that war would be inevitable in the Taiwan Straits as soon as the U.S. pulled out. And it angrily rejected possible American application of the "Japanese model" in establishing relations with Peking. (Japan now has only economic ties with Taiwan after establishing formal diplomatic relations with Peking in September, 1972. Three months later, however, Japan opened an "interchange of office" here, staffed mainly by foreign ministry officials. Taiwan has a similar office in Tokyo.)

If the United States should recognize Peking, Taiwan obviously would prefer that the U.S. also retain its embassy in Taipei. Failing that, it would hope that the present embassy at least become a liaison office, similar to that presently maintained in Peking.

The United States is actually giving encouragement to the evil force of aggression and international adventurism which the Chinese communist regime certainly is."

The Commission on Foreign Affairs of the legislative Yuan expressed strong opposition to any secret compromise that might be detrimental to Taiwan's rights during normalization of U.S. relations with mainland China.

The final day of the Ford visit coincided with the opening of the election campaign for 22 seats in the legislative Yuan. At one rally on that day none of the speakers mentioned the Ford trip, although one candidate when questioned afterward said he hoped the U.S. would move slowly toward recognizing Peking. "This would be best for both Taiwan and the United States," he said.

## Rolls-Royce engines for Peking

By Ross H. Munro  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor  
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Peking  
The effect of the estimated \$200-million Rolls-Royce jet engine deal with China will be to allow China to deploy a new generation of fighter aircraft and thus greatly increase its military capability.

Diplomatic observers in Peking said they thought it was the first time a Western armaments or aerospace corporation had agreed to license the manufacture of a major military-related item in a communist country. The contracts were signed Dec. 18 by Sir Kenneth Keith, chairman of the British Government-owned Rolls-Royce 1971 Limited, and by the China National Technical Import Corporation. Rolls-Royce said the agreement covers "the licensed manufacture of Rolls-Royce Spey aero engines in China and

a supply of completed engines and associated equipment."

The Spey engines could be fitted onto existing Chinese jet fighters like the MIGs bought from the Soviet Union before the Chinese-Soviet split. In the long run they could be fitted onto a new Chinese-designed aircraft.

The Spey engine currently powers the British Phantom fighter-interceptor jets as well as the Trident, which is used for civil transportation.

The Rolls-Royce deal probably will be weighed by COCOM, a committee of representatives of Western industrial countries that administers an informal embargo on sales of strategic materials to communist countries. However, it appeared that neither China nor Rolls-Royce would have devoted three years of exploration and negotiation of the deal without concluding that COCOM would approve it.



# Gulf Oil funding Soviet backed Angolan rebels

By David Anable  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor  
United Nations, New York

The American Government, American business, and American citizens appear to be getting deeply involved in the raging civil war in Angola.

Ironically, these American elements are aiding and bankrolling opposing sides. And the administration's own reported undercover operation is the target of strong criticism from some members of Congress and, apparently, from within the State Department itself.

This U.S. involvement at varied levels is neither so well known nor perhaps so vast as Soviet and Cuban military aid to the leftist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) whose Luanda-based "government" has been recognized by at least 13 black African countries.

But its scope is becoming daily more evident:

- Gulf Oil Company, which has oil wells in the MPLA-controlled enclave of Cabinda, has confirmed that it has handed over hundreds of millions of dollars this year in royalty and tax payments to the Luanda-based "tax collector of the State of Angola."

- The latest payment (about \$100 million) was made in September when the MPLA was in full control of Luanda. MPLA Finance Minister Saydi Mingas, according to highly reliable sources, has confirmed receipt of this payment.

- Hundreds of Americans have responded to newspaper advertisements calling for mercenaries for action in Africa. One advertiser, David Bufkin of Fresno, California, told this correspondent that he himself had dispatched nearly 100 Americans to join the Angolan liberation movements fighting against the MPLA.

- According to Mr. Bufkin, a California crop duster, most of these combat veterans headed for Angola via South Africa. A few went via Zaire. The initial funds (about \$800 to \$1,200 per person travel costs), he said, came from Africa. He reckoned a total of about 300 Americans had left for Angola over the past month or two.

- American officials say that the FBI is investigating the matter. Recruiting American citizens to serve in a foreign army is illegal under Title 18 of the U.S. Code.

- The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) also has been recruiting Americans with

combat experience, in this case, blacks, to go to Angola. But Arthur Fitzjohn, head of CORE's international department, insists that the aim is solely to provide medical assistance — "It's entirely peaceful, nonmilitary, humanitarian involvement."

Mr. Fitzjohn estimates that some 500 to 600 unpaid volunteers will be recruited as "medics" at a cost to CORE of from \$100,000 to \$1 million. He categorically denied a Newsday (Long Island) report that said that Central Intelligence Agency sources claimed CORE was recruiting for the CIA.

- According to a New York Times story published last week, a high-ranking U.S. Government official said that the United States has already sent \$25 million in arms and support funds to Angola over the last three months and plans to send another \$25 million.

The funds and military supplies were said to have been distributed by the CIA via Zaire to the two uneasily allied factions fighting the MPLA — the FNLA (National Front) and UNITA (National Movement). State Department sources subsequently would neither confirm nor deny the report. The official U.S. position remains as enunciated by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger Nov. 28: "The United States will not intervene militarily in Angola."

However, a further New York Times report Sunday said that the August resignation of Nathaniel Davis, head of the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs, was made in protest against the Kissinger-sponsored growing U.S. covert involvement. Mr. Davis's recommendation of a purely diplomatic approach to Angola was said to have been rejected.

The Gulf Oil concession agreement with Angola calls for royalty and tax payments this year of some \$600 million — about half Angola's total foreign-exchange earnings in a normal year.

The company's 120 Cabinda wells have been pumping at near-normal rates (about 140,000 barrels a day) most of the year despite the war. About 100 foreign personnel, including some 50 Americans, are at work there. MPLA troops occupied the installations for only one day and now control the area from outside them.

Gulf spokesmen deny that the company's quarterly payments have been made to the MPLA. But that is clearly the effect, at least for the September payment. At the time of earlier payments Angola had a shaky "transi-



South African troops near Angolan border: how far will they be sucked in?

itional" coalition government of all three factions plus the Portuguese. But the MPLA's Mr. Mingas was Finance Minister then, too.

Mr. Mingas is reported to have remarked recently that MPLA's relations with Gulf were "very good." And Gulf is said to have quietly communicated to the State Department its concern about U.S. intervention on the other side.

Gulf now has a major problem on its hands: what to do about the next quarterly payment due at the end of this month? Since the September payment, the MPLA has declared independence (Nov. 11) and set itself up as the official government in the capital, Luanda. There is no longer any conceivable doubt as to who would receive the next check — if it goes to the usual address in Luanda.

The U.S. administration also has a problem, in this case of maintaining its alleged covert supply of funds and materiel to the anti-MPLA forces. Concerned both about a burgeoning, possibly Vietnam-type U.S. entanglement in Angola and about too-close U.S. identification with South African aid to the anti-MPLA groups, some U.S. senators and representatives are voicing opposition.

The Senate foreign-relations subcommittee on assistance was scheduled Tuesday to debate an amendment by Sen. Dick Clark (D)

of Iowa to the Government's security-assistance bill. This would have the effect of bringing any such CIA disbursements under congressional control.

CORE, too, is finding Angola a prickly assignment. Mr. Fitzjohn says that Core wishes to retain a neutral mediating stance throughout its involvement.

Yet the plan to send hundreds of black volunteers into Angola flowed from a CORE official's attendance at the UNITA-FNLA independence celebrations. CORE did not attend the MPLA celebrations, although Mr. Fitzjohn says that it is in contact with the MPLA, too.

Besides this appearance of lopsided "neutrality" Vietnam veterans and sources familiar with previous, mercenary campaigns are highly skeptical about the need for so many hundreds of "medics." In this view, the reference to "medics" with combat experience are a familiar smokescreen often used in the past to cover a less-passive involvement.

Despite what he describes as such "wild and frivolous assumptions," Mr. Fitzjohn says CORE intends to go ahead. Men with combat experience, he says, would be best able to operate in a neutral role in combat situations. CORE, he emphasizes, will "not allow CIA treachery to sabotage our program."

## Kenyatta joins the dance in Kenya freedom celebration

By Henry S. Hayward  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Nairobi, Kenya  
These are busy days for Kenya's venerable, respected President Jomo Kenyatta.

He recently pardoned 10,000 convicted prisoners with a single executive order as a gesture of goodwill on the eve of his country's 12th anniversary of independence.

Then he attended the Jamhuri (independence) celebrations in Nairobi. With typical vigor he received the third battalion of the Kenya rifles and watched the trooping of the colors and an Air Force fly-past, which he acknowledged with a wave of his ever-present white fly-whisk.

Moments later he was on his feet to deliver an 80-minute speech to his countrymen calling for unity, urging them to work hard, and citing the progress that Kenya has made since emerging from British colonial control.

As Kenya's first and only President thus far, Mr. Kenyatta, a short, heavy-set but spry man in his eighties, sets an example of activity for his younger subordinates.

His independence day also included a lunch for his Cabinet at the state house, followed by a mammoth garden party for thousands of guests.

As traditional tribal dancers performed, the President, who is known to his people as Mzee, or "wise old man" in Swahili, solemnly joined

them. By participating in their movements, he once more demonstrated his great feeling of kinship with the common people. He urged his Vice-President, his wife, and other dignitaries to join in, and they did.

This is the Jomo Kenyatta who knows what it is to be in prison. Under British rule, he spent years in detention. He knows what it feels like to be freed.

This is the Jomo Kenyatta who has provided stability and continuity in Kenya's leadership during a decade when most black African nations have been notable for changes of regime.

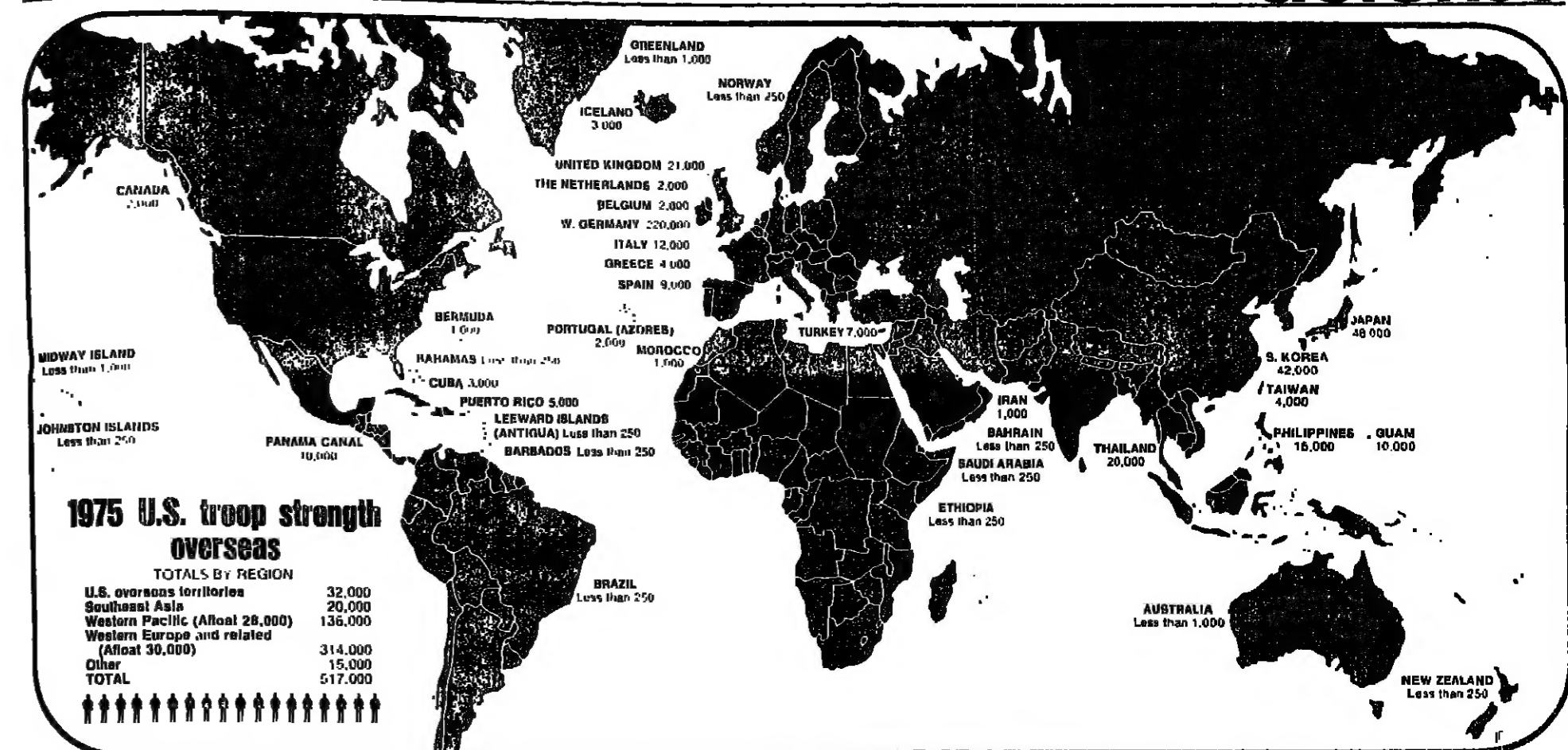
He also is credited with establishing an atmosphere for economic development in his East African nation along free enterprise lines — another notable achievement in this part of the world.

Not that Mr. Kenyatta is without his critics — serious ones. He has dealt with political opponents, including parliamentarians, with a heavy hand. In October, he ordered two of them into detention indefinitely. There was no indication they would be among the 10,000 men and women amnestied.

Did the President relax after two busy days? He did not. The day after the celebrations he was out at the airport with his cabinet, honor guard, Nairobi city officials, traditional dancers, and the diplomatic corps. He was there to welcome Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda; here for a three-day visit.



Jomo Kenyatta: great kinship with the common people



## Defense of Europe top priority for U.S. forces

By Dana Adams Schmidt  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
The United States has drastically cut its number of military forces stationed overseas from the all-time Vietnam war high of 1,211,000 in 1968 to a postwar low of 517,000.

This is in keeping with the trends that followed the Korean war (after which forces went from 1,180,000 to 687,000 by 1960) and the Second World War (forces fell to 500,000 by 1948.)

What then of the future? How is U.S. military manpower likely to be distributed around the world 10 years from now?

This is the kind of question that makes most Pentagon officials uneasy because there are no documents to lean on, only the wild blue of probabilities, intentions, and imaginations.

The easy answer is that soon there probably will be many fewer troops overseas than there are now, especially in Japan, Korea, and Southeast Asia, as indicated by the movement since Vietnam. In Europe there probably also will be fewer although there has been a temporary increase since the end of the Vietnam war, mainly in Germany.

High-level Pentagon sources, however, indicate a Defense Department intention to combat the tendency toward global decline in U.S. manpower.

Some high officials have argued that U.S. manpower overseas should be concentrated in the center of the European front to support NATO against the one-half of Soviet ground forces that face westward.

The second U.S. stronghold overseas, the officials said, should be in the Western Pacific, focused on the defense of Japan and in general opposition to China and the Soviet Union's ground forces which face eastward.

According to former Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, "The emphasis of our planning has shifted to Europe; however, we still retain a presence in South Korea with backup forces primarily in Okinawa."

"Most of our forces already are or soon will be oriented toward a war in Europe," Mr. Schlesinger added. "But we maintain some less heavily armored and mechanized units for a lesser contingency and as the basis for a rapid swing toward Asia or some other theater."

This kind of thinking may well prevail for the next five years, although precise approaches of new Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld are not yet known. After that, more long-term forces are likely to take over. The United States almost certainly will have

departed from Thailand (where the government has declared U.S. forces unwelcome) and from Taiwan which the U.S. should evacuate under terms of the U.S.-Chinese Shanghai Communiqué of 1972.

Continued presence in the Philippines is doubtful, too, given the uncertain political scene in that country, Pentagon sources believe. Nor is it likely that the United States will for long continue to resist Chinese pressure for American departure from South Korea, considering the public feeling against large-scale involvement of U.S. ground forces in a war on the Asian continent.

U.S. withdrawal from Korea would be a

signal to Japan that it can no longer depend on the United States for its defense. The Japanese could then be expected to see to their own rearmament, including nuclear weapons. Some strategists see that development as only natural.

In Europe, the future depends first of all on the mutual force reduction talks in Vienna. Should these talks succeed, U.S. forces in Germany and elsewhere would be reduced. But given the absence of strong political motivation in the U.S. and the Soviet Union to bring about the success of these and of the SALT negotiations on nuclear arms the need — and European demand — for a strong U.S.

presence in Europe will probably continue. If the U.S. presence, centered in Germany, is reduced in the next decade it will be the result of more broad and fundamental influences, such as technology. In the next 10 years U.S. forces will receive so much additional firepower and mobility, brought about by technical and scientific advances, that the need for large numbers of men may be reduced. Most notably the possibility of moving fully equipped divisions from the U.S. in a few hours in C-5A long-range transport aircraft and their improved successors, will be more and more accepted as substitute for permanent presence.

## Uncle Sam's lavish airpower

By Guy Halverson  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Can the U.S. afford four separate tactical air forces — each with its own roster of aircraft — with projected costs running toward \$300 billion or more by the mid-1980's?

Many lawmakers here — as well as some private defense analysts — question more and more large-scale Pentagon funding programs for new generations of sleek, super-sophisticated aircraft systems being developed by all four armed services.

Yet, the U.S. Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps insist on the need for separate air arms.

The issue of separate air forces is expected to be a point of congressional inquiry in upcoming hearings on the (fiscal year) 1977 Pentagon budget now being hammered together by the Ford administration. The administration, as with the 1976 budget, is accepting the basic outlines of the current tactical air systems — which means accepting the planned makeup of aircraft within each system.

Key funding decisions are ahead next year for such planes as the Air Force B-1 bomber and the Navy F-18 (see story opposite).

The Air Force alone is developing a string of new jets with long-range costs running into the billions: The A-10 close-support aircraft, fighter, at \$4.3 million each; the F-18 Eagle, an air superiority aircraft, at \$16 million each; the F-16, a single engine, lightweight fighter at \$7.5 million each; expensive AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) aircraft; an advanced airborne command post aircraft;



B-1 supersonic strategic bomber: replacement for aging B-52s

and the B-1 bomber, a replacement for the Strategic Air Command's aging Boeing B-52s.

The Navy is developing the costly, carrier-based F-14 Tomcat; the F-18, an air-combat fighter; and the A-18, an "attack" version of the F-18.

The Navy is also developing the XFV-12A, a new V/STOL (vertical, short takeoff and landing) aircraft.

The Army, which has the largest tactical air contingent in outright numbers (estimated at around 11,000 aircraft, compared with around 10,000 for the Air Force), is developing a new advanced attack helicopter gunship for ground support missions.

Service chiefs insist that the U.S. is best served by having a broad "mix" of aircraft to meet such diverse missions as close air support (the Air Force and Army); deep penetration of enemy air space (Air Force); and carrier defense (Navy). Moreover, Pentagon officials argue that a range of aircraft provides competition between defense contractors, which lowers unit costs.

Thus, according to Dr. Malcolm Currie,

director of Defense Research and Engineering at the Pentagon, "development of the F-16 and F-18 provides a stimulus to keep costs down on the F-14 and F-15, while the existence of the F-14 and F-15 assures that the costs of the F-16 and F-18 cannot increase very much."

Critics, however, such as the Washington-based Center for Defense Information, are skeptical. Separate air forces, they charge, often leads to overlapping missions.

One possible solution: a return to the concept of fighter planes common to all four services advocated in the early 1960s by former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara. The F-18, for example, is being developed for both the U.S. and a number of its allies.

With the new generation of relatively inexpensive ground-to-air missiles being developed by both the Soviet Union and the U.S., critics ask if the U.S. can afford to retain a large fleet of superiority aircraft and attack helicopters? One clear result of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, some analysts argue, was that the first-rate Israeli Air Force was to a great extent neutralized (with heavy losses) by a devastating barrage of ground-to-air missiles.



# defense

Awesome naval weapon

## Trident sub will pack punch equal to all WWII navies

By Ron Moxness  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Bangor, Washington  
America's most powerful nuclear weapon of the coming decades, the awesome Trident submarine, will make its home in a quiet but strategic naval base on Washington state's Hood Canal, an arm of Puget Sound famed for its good fishing and boating and within commuting distance of bustling Seattle.

The Trident base, now on its way to completion near the small Kitsap County naval reservation at Bangor, eventually will occupy a tenth of some 8,000 acres of wilderness now inhabited by deer, bear, and wildfowl.

The Trident submarines, 10 in all, could roam in the Pacific for 10 years without refueling. And their nuclear missiles have a reported range of 4,000 nautical miles.

Each submarine will carry 24 missiles and will have a destructive power greater than all of the navies of World War II.

Cost of the base itself — with its missile servicing facilities and training quarters — will exceed \$500 million and the labor force will jump to 2,000 men next summer. The first Trident, now under construction at Groton, Connecticut, is expected to reach the base in April, 1978, the last one in 1985.

Kitsap County, with an unemployment rate of about 9 percent, is already beginning to feel the invigorating effects of Trident construction activity, the result of some 20 construction contracts already let and another dozen expected by year's end. When fully operational, Bangor will be "home port" for some 4,000 military and 2,900 civilian personnel. Some 400 workers are at work now on the base.

Trident, the powerful three-pronged spear carried by Neptune, god of the sea in Roman

mythology, is today a symbol of more than the most powerful naval weapon ever developed. It includes the submarines, the shore support site, the 240 missiles to be carried by the 10 Tridents when on station and an ambitious program of continuing research and development.

The entire system eventually will cost \$18 billion authorized by the Congress to assure concentration of Trident deterrent power in a single base. The Bangor site, selected after an intensive two-ocean search, eliminates the need for overseas facilities such as those now supporting Polaris submarines at Holy Loch, Scotland, Rota, Spain, and on Guam.

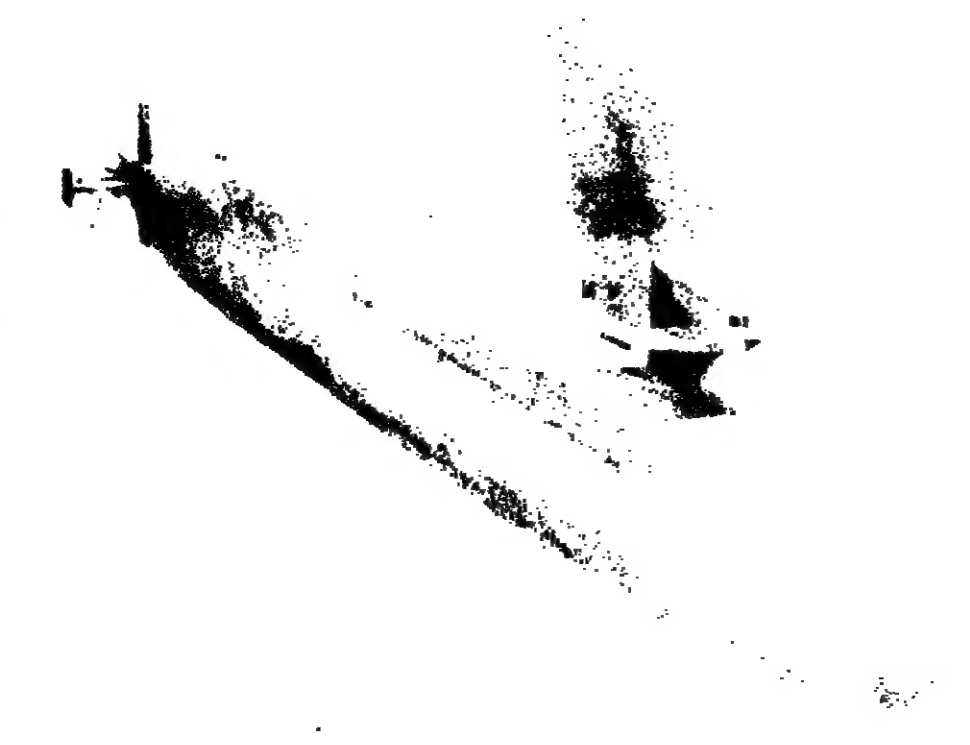
Because of this concentration of nuclear deterrent power in a single base in the United States, the Navy considers the Trident program a "bargain," a significant hedge against possible technological breakthroughs "that could threaten the credibility of our strategic deterrent," a Navy spokesman says.

That such a technological breakthrough may have occurred was noted by wire-service reports out of Washington recently in which U.S. intelligence sources reported the Soviet Union had test-fired what might have been their first submarine-launched missile equipped with multiple warheads, from a test center in the White Sea area.

The Soviet missile, its technical sophistication uncertain, traveled an estimated 3,500 miles to the Kamchatka Peninsula in the Pacific, the sources reported.

Only a few years ago there were doubts that the Trident base would be built. Trident itself became the target of a suit by environmental groups concerned about the nuclear "threat" to the region as a result of the base construction and also by the potential environmental impact of the facility on the canal and communities nearby.

The suit was dismissed by U.S. District



Artist's impression of Trident submarine firing ballistic missile

Judge George Hart in Washington, D.C., who ruled that "environmental costs are minute when compared with the benefits to the national defense and security." The Navy, nevertheless, made its own intensive environmental impact study of the Trident facility.

The first ballistic missile submarine, the USS George Washington, was launched in 1959. Some 180 feet long, it was initially armed with 16 Polaris A1 missiles but now carries the more accurate Polaris A3 which has a range of 2,850 miles.

Eventual replacement of the Polaris weapons in 31 of the navy's submarines with Poseidon missiles, which are fitted with multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles (MIRVs) or multiple warheads, will vastly expand U.S. deterrent power.

The Trident C-4 missile which will be installed initially in the Trident submarines carries eight MIRV warheads and has a minimum range of 4,000 nautical miles. Its successor, the Trident D-5, will have a range of some 6,700 miles.

## Did rivalry breed plane?

By Guy Halverson  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Wasteful luxury or prudent management? Needed by the Navy in the 1970s or not?

With these questions as yet unresolved, the new U.S. Navy F-15 twin-engine lightweight combat fighter is apparently on its way.

The 1976 fiscal year defense budget of \$80 billion — now in Senate and House conference and expected to be voted on soon — likely will include sizable development funds for the new aircraft.

Few Americans, however, have ever heard of the F-15, let alone the Navy's arguments for what could eventually be a full-scale production program for 800 of the jets, at a total cost of \$8 billion.

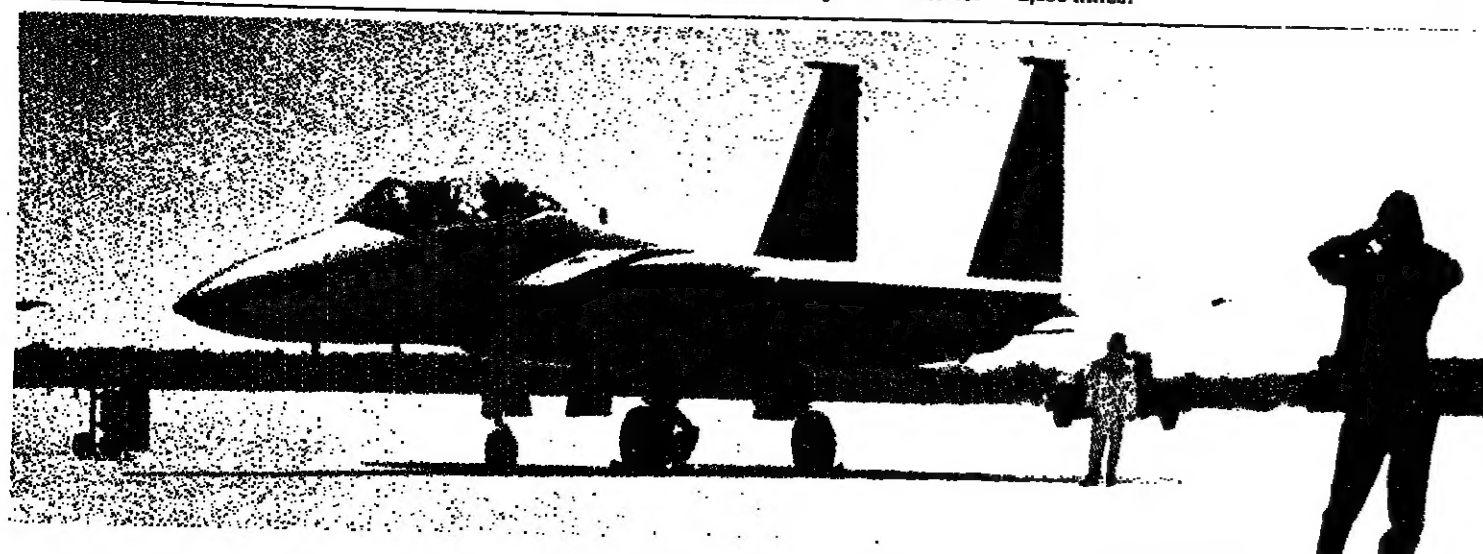
Among questions being raised by some lawmakers are these:

— Whether the Navy, which is developing the expensive Grumman F-14 Tomcat at a cost of around \$8.1 billion (for 390 planes), in fact needs an additional carrier-based jet?

— Whether the Navy needs the currently projected two versions of the F-15, the regular F-15 fighter as well as the A-15, an attack fighter capable of carrying additional fuel and ranging many miles beyond the carrier fleet?

— Also asked here is to what extent the traditional Navy-Air Force rivalry was a factor in the Navy's decision to "go" with the F-15 rather than buying a version of a fighter already under production for the Air Force.

Such recent haggling over aircraft goes back to the "TPX" (the current F-111) in the early 1960s, and more recently to the F-4 Phantom (both Navy and Air Force versions), the Navy's F-4 Phantom, and the Air Force's F-4 Phantom.



F-15 Eagle: a match for the high-flying MIG-25s

By R. Norman Mathony, staff photographer

## Israel gets world's 'most sophisticated' aircraft

By Guy Halverson  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
The sale of U.S. F-15 Eagle jet fighters to Israel is seen here as another escalation in the delicate Mideast arms balance.

When coupled with reports that Egypt is seeking the new French-built Mirage F-1, and is contracting for British-built Jaguars, a first-line strike aircraft, there is concern that other Middle East powers will feel threatened by changes in the military air balance, and seek purchases of advanced fighters, also.

The sale — reportedly involving some 25 planes, spare parts, and support equipment for \$400 million with first delivery in 1977 — gives Israel what many intelligence experts believe to be the newest and best U.S. military aircraft built, in many respects far superior to the Soviet-built MIG-23s and 25s flown by several Arab countries.

The F-15 (built by St. Louis, Missouri-based McDonnell Douglas Corporation), gives the Israelis an excellent aircraft, while "holding the line" militarily until the U.S. begins production of its new, cheaper F-16 lightweight fighter being developed for the U.S. and NATO.

Israel has been interested in the F-15 as a supplement to its aging Phantom F-4s (also U.S.-built) now for more than a year, with an administration approval for the jet coming after the September Sinai disengagement agreement between Israel and Egypt.

According to Dr. Alvin J. Cottrell, director of research at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, the F-15 may well be "the most sophisticated aircraft in the world."

The Eagle, developed for the U.S. Air Force over strong opposition from some congressional liberals, is considered a highly maneuverable aircraft. A twin-engine jet, it carries three air-to-air weapons: a 20-mm

Gatling gun, and short-range and medium-range missiles.

Flying over twice the speed of sound, it is considered deadly in combat.

Syria, Egypt, Iraq, and Libya are believed to have as many as 128 Soviet Mig-23s up to now the hottest jet aircraft in the Mideast.

The Soviets also have transferred some 20 Mig-25s from Egypt to Syria, flown by Soviet pilots and considered the highest-flying aircraft in the Mideast. The older Israeli F-4 Phantoms would be no match for them in aerial combat. With the introduction of the high altitude F-15s, says an aide to one senator on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, it is now "one for one" in a shoot-out.

In announcing the sale of the F-15s, the Pentagon also announced plans to complete modernization of the Saudi Arabian Air Force at a total cost of \$1.8 billion — an announcement drawing fire and an expected Senate hearing.

# United States

From page 1

## ★A Christmas wish for the thing

The mounting evidence that there is something in that loch, I find profoundly disturbing. Not because I am frightened of it — or even Them. They have done nobody any harm so far, and there is no reason to suppose they will if only we stop trying to photograph them, trap them, wire them up to cardiograph and psychoanalyze them. If the medical technicians get at them, the monsters will have my entire sympathy for hitting back.

No, what worries me is the loss of a whole era of fantasy. If they catch Nessie tomorrow, who claim to communicate with spirits never seem to come up with anything useful, like where the gold is buried or what shares are going up in the market: they usually get messages like "I am very happy here" or "Take good care of Robert." I fear that the Loch Ness Monster, once contacted, will also fail to advance us beyond our present human predicament.

Worst of all, or course, will be the effect on the Scottish nationalists. They are already insisting that what the Americans are producing under the North Sea is "Our Scottish Oil"; now the Americans seem on the verge of discovering "Our Scottish Monster." I should not be surprised if the capture of the first Nessie were seized upon as sufficient cause for an instant and unilateral declaration of Scottish independence.

I see that Nessie has already been given an unpronounceable Latin name so that she/he/it. (Why not Mon?) can be registered as a rare species entitled to protection. Let us, I suggest, leave it at that and forbid any further peeping or prying into Nessie's private life — and everybody's dreams or nightmares. You fantasize about your monster and I'll fantasize about mine.

As things stand, you can imagine your monster in all sizes and colors. The most popular monster this season is about 70 feet long (which would make a London bus look ally), with a huge hump, long neck, hideous mottled red face and giraffe-like horns. If Nessie ever comes before the television cameras, you can be pretty sure she will be

five-foot-six, with legs like a wart-hog, and a dirty grey complexion. Her behavior will also be extremely dull. She will sleep all day, and only emerge at dead of night to masticate 200 or 300 pounds of rotting sea-weed. And she will smell.

We always expect too much of our mysteries, and it is far better so. Demystification does nobody any good. Ghosts, for example, are enthralling to all who have never met one; but I know one man who has a resident spook in his house and describes it as "a terrible bore and not the least bit thrilling." People who claim to communicate with spirits never seem to come up with anything useful, like where the gold is buried or what shares are going up in the market: they usually get messages like "I am very happy here" or "Take good care of Robert." I fear that the Loch Ness Monster, once contacted, will also fail to advance us beyond our present human predicament.

Worst of all, or course, will be the effect on the Scottish nationalists. They are already insisting that what the Americans are producing under the North Sea is "Our Scottish Oil"; now the Americans seem on the verge of discovering "Our Scottish Monster." I should not be surprised if the capture of the first Nessie were seized upon as sufficient cause for an instant and unilateral declaration of Scottish independence.

I see that Nessie has already been given an unpronounceable Latin name so that she/he/it. (Why not Mon?) can be registered as a rare species entitled to protection. Let us, I suggest, leave it at that and forbid any further peeping or prying into Nessie's private life — and everybody's dreams or nightmares. You fantasize about your monster and I'll fantasize about mine.

From page 1

## ★Angola: Moscow's reach lengthens

Until about 10 years ago, American sea power could operate in the main sea approaches to the Soviet land mass without seeing anything which could interfere effectively. Today, it is a different story. One Soviet fleet covers the approaches to the Baltic and the Barents Sea. Another operates in the Mediterranean. A third roams the Indian Ocean. A fourth covers the approaches to Siberia's coastline on the Pacific. Ivan used to be a land animal. He is learning to swim.

It is disconcerting for Americans to find him swimming in the South Atlantic along the coast of Africa. He was never there before. This is achieving the dream of Peter the Great.

The immediate question in Washington is, what do we do about it? It is a difficult question to answer. The United States does not own Africa, but it does have important national interests in Africa and in the future of Africa. It cannot properly object to the newly declared government in Luanda, the capital of Angola, seeking military aid against its local enemies.

It may be foolish for the Soviets to respond to the request. They may waste their investment. They have startled and disturbed a lot of Americans in the process — and put a strain on the emotional framework of détente. But they have not broken any known rules of conduct.

There are recognized Soviet and American spheres of influence. The "Brezhnev doctrine" covers Eastern Europe. The Monroe Doctrine warns non-Americans off from Central and South America. There is no specification of spheres of influence beyond those areas. Someday, perhaps, détente could lead to more specific boundaries of such spheres of influence. There is an understanding that neither the U.S.A. nor U.S.S.R. will behave "irresponsibly."

Washington at the moment is torn between those who wish to rush forward with more power for the forces contending against the Moscow-backed Luanda faction in Angola and those who see all this as the beginning of another American entanglement in a place of little intrinsic "importance" to the United States.

Latest poll

## Reagan Gallups ahead

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
At the same time a Gallup poll shows President Ford dropping considerably behind Ronald Reagan in popularity among Republican voters, 84 top state GOP leaders told the Monitor they are confident Mr. Ford will lead the ticket next year.

The findings of the Monitor survey of Republican leaders across the United States come at a time when the President's campaign finds itself being buffeted by:

• Angry reaction from some of the 300 Republican politicians from 13 Southern states to remarks made by President Ford's campaign manager, Howard (Bo) Callaway in Houston.

• A strong showing by Ronald Reagan forces at the Houston meeting of the Southern Republicans Conference over the weekend.

• Growing Republican pressure for the President to veto three bills — on energy, construction-site picketing, and tax extension reduction — which it is believed he would sign.

The recent Gallup findings — based on a relatively small sampling, showed that Mr. Reagan was favored over Mr. Ford, 40 percent to 33 percent. A poll in October indicated Mr. Ford had 45 percent to Mr. Reagan's 28 percent.

In the Monitor sampling of top GOP officials, 153 questionnaires were sent (to all Republican state chairmen and national committeemen and women) and more than 66 percent (100) responded. Nine disagreed with

the majority and the remainder were undecided.

The Monitor survey was conducted in the same period of the Gallup poll — since the President's top-level administration shifts were made.

The GOP leaders see the President winning the New Hampshire primary (48 to 34 with the remainder undecided). They see Mr. Reagan winning the Florida primary (55 to 28).

But when asked who would win the most primaries, the party leaders said Mr. Ford would (73 to 10).

In Washington, the Gallup poll has caused a stir.

Some highly respected observers are saying the President was "finished" as possible nominee. Some guessed he would withdraw from the ticket after the first couple of primaries.

Said one observer: "If he loses in New Hampshire and then loses in Massachusetts, he'll show he can't win in the North. So he'll have to step aside."

But those who know the President are certain he is far from giving up — and that even if he suffers some early defeats, he will stick on through the full primary process if he possibly can.

The official presidential view is, of course, that he is going to win. But it is known that the Gallup poll did shake up some top people within his administration.

"Polls are mainly valuable in showing movement, not in showing precisely how much that movement may be," said presidential adviser Robert Hartmann. "We were not surprised that there was movement toward Reagan at this time."

FROM PAGE 1

## ★Will the fat feed the thin?

This conference of 27 delegations and 35 countries (the nine European Common Market countries are represented by a single delegation) was being held at France's chandelied, tapestry-hung International Conference Center. Only a block away, Christmas shoppers crowded the Champs Elysees and its stores stacked with consumer goods. The fourth world and its plight seemed a galaxy apart.

Noting that the conference and its two preparatory meetings had cost nearly a quarter-of-a-billion dollars, the Paris newspaper Le Figaro commented: "We French spend three times as much on Christmas alone."

Conference sources said there were signs the Soviet Union, though condemning the conference openly, would like privately to be included in any arrangements it might set up.

President Giscard d'Estaing hinted at this possibility, and Soviet officials have told Western visitors that they cannot understand why their country, the world's largest producer of oil, should be excluded from a gathering at which oil is a principal topic. (Yugoslavia is the only Communist country invited to the conference.)

Dr. Kissinger raised some eyebrows with his call for lower oil prices while maintaining a "minimum safeguard price" to encourage the development of alternative energy supplies.

The question of what the "just" price of oil should be is one of the most vexing controversies in North-South relations today. The industrialized nations have shown that they can overcome the effects of high oil prices and even, in some cases, profit by them. U.S. Energy Administration officials are talking of domestic American oil prices rising to \$13 a barrel over a 40-month period, during which time they expect Middle East oil prices to rise to around \$16 a barrel.

From the viewpoint of the developing nations all the trumps, except for oil, are held by the industrialized nations, and the oil producers will lose their sole trump as their depletable resource begins to run out around the turn of the century.



Six-year-old member of the MPLA's para-military youth group



# United States

## Senate considers a new code for the FBI

By Peter C. Stuart  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Reform of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is in the capital's chill December air.

After weeks of disclosures of FBI abuses, from break-ins to blackmail, comes a series of proposals to bring the bureau under tighter control.

Recommendations receiving most attention here:

- A fixed term of office for the FBI director.

- Detailed restrictions on the use of domestic security techniques such as electronic surveillance and informers.

- Closer overall supervision by the attorney general and congressional committees.

Conceding "grave abuses" in the past, Attorney General Edward H. Levi proposed to the Senate Intelligence Committee Thursday (Dec. 11) the first guidelines to be imposed by the Justice Department on domestic security investigations in the FBI's 51-year history.

The proposed guidelines would permit such investigations only "when there is a likelihood that the activities of individuals or groups involve, or will involve, the use of force or violence in violation of federal law" — theoretically ruling out political or personal vendettas such as those attributed to the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover.

The attorney general or his designee would thoroughly review all domestic intelligence probes and "put a stop to any full investigation whose justification did not meet [this] standard."

Preventive action — the most controversial aspect of recently disclosed FBI abuses — would be allowed only in the face of imminent violence, to "minimize the danger to life or property." Such preventive action would be required to be nonviolent and reported to Congress at least "once a year."

Attorney General Levi said the guidelines remained in draft form, with others planned on counterespionage investigations, use of informants, and the FBI's employee loyalty program.

But the guidelines do not go far enough for some members of the Intelligence Committee, which has been investigating FBI activities since September.

"Vaguely worded guidelines," suggested Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D) of Minnesota, might not stand up to direct orders from a president or "a willful director" intent on abusing FBI powers. "They would be swept away as fast as a sand castle before a hurricane," he said.

Chairman Frank Church (D) of Idaho hinted that the panel might recommend an all-new legislative foundation for the bureau. "Clearly the FBI does need a generic statute," he said, "which it has lacked all these years."

One special concern: FBI use of informers. Sen. Philip A. Hart (D) of Michigan proposed requiring the agency to obtain a warrant from a court before using informers, which he called "an extremely crude form of eavesdropping."

Growing sentiment for limiting the tenure of the FBI director — Mr. Hoover served 48 years — was reinforced Wednesday by William D. Ruckelshaus, former deputy attorney general and acting director of the FBI. He urged the committee to fix the term of office at eight or nine years.

The reform proposals come amid signs of sharply dropping public confidence in the FBI. A Gallup poll last week showed the bureau's "highly favorable" rating had fallen in 10 years from 84 percent of Americans polled to 37 percent.



A Christmastime evening settles silently over Sudbury, Massachusetts

## Boston's long hard road to school integration

By Kristen Kelech  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Boston  
Observers here are asking in the wake of a unique federal-court order taking over operation of a single high school if school desegregation there can get another chance to work.

U.S. District Judge W. Arthur Garrity Jr. put into receivership South Boston High School on Tuesday (Dec. 9), stripping the local school committee of its authority over the operation of the school. The school "will be run by the court," he said.

Also, the judge:

- Transferred all administrative staff members at the school — including Headmaster (principal) William J. Reid — to other city schools.

- Named the South Boston district superintendent as receiver — putting him in charge of running the school and making him directly responsible to the judge.

- Stripped the school committee of its power to make permanent appointments to any school job in the city. A Jan. 6 cutoff for that provision was given; then three new school-committee members, elected last month, will take their seats on the committee.

The school has been the scene of many racial incidents since a forced-busing plan to desegregate it was ordered by Judge Garrity in 1974.

The judge's order Dec. 9 came in response to a plea from the Boston chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to close the school

altogether because black students there suffer persistent discrimination by white students, faculty, and administrators.

They said black students "are not receiving the peaceful desegregated education they are entitled to under the 14th Amendment of the Constitution."

The judge agreed, saying that his desegregation plan is not being carried out at South Boston High School. "Not by a long shot," he added.

Local NAACP president Thomas I. Atkins said that if the court order "will send one child beyond high school and achievement, it was worth it. We shall continue to do what we are doing . . . pursue peaceful, desegregated, quality education in Boston's schools."

Mr. Atkins said the Boston NAACP headquarters received several bomb threats following Judge Garrity's ruling. A fire bomb early Wednesday caused about \$25,000 damage to the headquarters.

School-committee chairman John McDonough said he was pleased the judge decided to keep the high school open, but added that stripping the school committee of some of its powers "is an admission that the judge's [forced busing] plan is not working."

Anti-busing proponents were outraged at the judge's action. Although they had pleaded with him to leave the school open, they had not expected him to take over daily operations of the school himself.

Many anti-busing leaders, calling the judge a tyrant, have complained that he has overriden their constitutional right to send their children to neighborhood schools.

## Government turns spotlight on Teamsters

By Judith Frutkin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago  
An "extensive audit" here of the \$1.4 billion Teamsters Union Central States pension fund has begun even as the mystery of the whereabouts of former Teamsters president Jimmy Hoffa deepens.

Although the Hoffa shadow of doubt will hang ominously over the probe, key points to be considered are:

- High-stake kickback schemes.
- Union funding of La Costa, the \$80 million country club and health spa north of San Diego. Despite the fact he has a union-owned house in suburban Washington, D.C., Teamsters president Frank Fitzsimmons maintains a luxury apartment at La Costa and lives there most of the year.

- Hotels, apartments, condominiums, and country clubs in Florida allegedly purchased with pension funds.

- \$156 million in pension funds reportedly invested in Nevada gambling operations since the late 1960s.

- Ties between union-funded projects belonging to the 2.1 million-member Teamsters organization and members of organized crime.

In the process, says a Chicago-based federal investigator, the probe will seek links between dispersal of funds, a grand jury investigation last summer into Teamsters funding, and the disappearance of Mr. Hoffa last July 30.

On the kickback issue, Teamsters official Anthony (Tony) Provenzano was indicted along with two other men in New York last week on charges of conspiring to provide a kickback on a \$2.3 million loan from Teamsters pension funds.

Mr. Provenzano has been considered a key figure in the investigation into the disappearance of Mr. Hoffa. He was one of three men Mr. Hoffa said he was meeting for lunch on the day he disappeared. Mr. Provenzano, who was reportedly feuding with Mr. Hoffa, has denied such a meeting.

Last month, he was named secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 800 in Jersey City. He was forced to resign from a similar post 10 years ago after a conviction on federal extortion charges.

The audit, said an investigator, was prompted by events announced last week in Detroit, New York, and Washington, D.C., involving Teamsters members and the five-month-old Hoffa investigation, plus slowly building support for a full-scale congressional investigation.

Repeated attempts by this newspaper to reach Daniel Shannon, the executive director of the Central States fund, were unavailing.

The creation of an "interdepartmental policy committee" composed of officials from the Departments of Labor and Justice was disclosed in Washington last week.

However, small-scale preliminary investigation of the pension fund has been under way for at least two months.

The pension-fund investigation comes at a time when the Hoffa investigation is apparently widening.

- In Washington, a Senate subcommittee reportedly directed its staff to prepare recommendations for possible areas of investigation into the Hoffa case, cost estimates and figures showing necessary manpower.

- Also in Washington support is growing for a resolution that requests a full-scale Senate investigation into the activities of the Teamsters Union.

- In New Jersey, the Federal Bureau of Investigation is reportedly prepared to begin digging in a 47-acre Jersey City landfill. According to an informant, Mr. Hoffa's body was placed in a barrel in Detroit, shipped by truck to New Jersey and buried in the landfill.

## Viet refugees:

## At home in America

By Lucia Moust  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Except for the hefty pile of shoes just inside the front door, it looks like a typical American household.

But the rented Arlington, Virginia, house happens to be home to a Vietnamese refugee family of seven whose first eight months in the United States have been filled with one eye-opening experience after another.

Not only have they witnessed their first snowfall and the wonders of automated vending machines, they also have been introduced to the intricacies of unit pricing in the supermarkets and managed a weekend visit to New York City ("dirty and noisy, a nice place to visit but . . .") and its Statue of Liberty.

The new immigrants have experienced generosity at work and from neighbors (including a freshly baked cake on arrival and help in changing a flat tire on their newly purchased used car), but they also have felt the sting of racial discrimination from strangers who have noticed only their foreignness.

All their belongings were left behind in South Vietnam. Yet the family draws nothing but pleads for neighbors for their courage and industriousness in strange new surroundings. It is Linh and her husband, Tan, a young couple in their 20s who have jobs as computer programmers as they did in Saigon, who were the American connection.

Linh's parents, who owned a Chinese restaurant in Saigon and before that in China where they had fled the Communists once before, now work 11 hours a day as cooks in still another Chinese restaurant in the Washington area. Two of Linh's three sisters are working in clerical jobs and glad of it.

All of them miss home — "even the slums" — but Tan insists, "We love it here — and we've been very lucky."

In many ways, the Vietnamese refugee influx has been unique.

- In addition to the distance and massive numbers involved (including some extraordinarily large families and groups of friends who wanted to stay together), all came to U.S. shores within a short time last spring when the employment situation could not have been worse.

- Few brought any possessions.
- Unlike most refugee groups, the Vietnamese had no constituent community here in advance to voice their concerns or provide moral support.

- A few Americans, still at odds over the wisdom of U.S. military involvement in Indo-China, were openly hostile to the newcomers.

It is in this context that Mrs. Julia V. Taft, director of the President's interagency task force on Indo-Chinese refugees, considers the whole resettlement effort a resounding success.

Conceding that not all refugees are happy with their jobs or sponsors and that most are

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# United States



At resettlement camp in Arkansas

Facing the first winter in foreign land

probably homesick, she says, "I'm terribly amazed and pleased that the American system and people could actually resettle aliens so effectively and efficiently — I could not have believed this kind of program could have progressed so well in so short a time."

However, Dale DeHaan, staff director of the Senate subcommittee on refugees and escapees, considers it "too early" to judge the success of resettlement efforts since camps this month are still being cleared. "Maybe by spring," he says.

In any event, Mr. DeHaan's subcommittee, which issued a scathing report early last summer on federal efforts to aid Vietnamese refugees, now credits the task force with developing more sensitivity to refugee needs and having made many changes for the better — such as a late summer shift from a plea for individual to group sponsors.

"We don't take anything back in the report or apologize, but I think they did get on track and deserve credit."

Mrs. Taft concedes that the task force was small and flexible enough to make changes when the need was clear. However, in her view, federal involvement in refugee resettlement is exceptional in the Vietnamese case and quite properly limited strictly to resettlement itself.

"Integrating [refugees into the community] has never been a federal job," she says. "The only reason there were grants at all was because this happened all at once. . . . We didn't want to impact unduly on state and local resources."

Some close observers of refugee efforts say that ingrained Vietnamese politeness and shyness may keep program evaluators from ever really knowing how well the resettlement has fared.

## America's election system: Does it need changing?

By Richard L. Strout  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
When the football season is over, when the hockey season is fading, when the days begin to lengthen, the U.S. presidential primary contest starts in earnest.

The race is for the most powerful job on earth. The first test match, in New Hampshire on Feb. 24, is less than three months off, and is already bringing hopefuls through the snow. And William Loeb, the angry publisher of the Manchester Union Leader, is already calling them names.

Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D) of Minnesota, who dropped out of the race after a year's trying, calls the whole system bunk. What a way to pick the President of the United States! he exclaims.

The 30 or so primaries form a trip wire obstacle course for ambitious politicians. Frequently they occur simultaneously in different parts of the country, making it impossible for one candidate to be at all of them.

It's irrational, it's preposterous, says Mr. Mondale.

"The system has evolved over nearly 200 years without design, structure, or purpose into a complex maze of state laws, party regulations, and unwritten traditions.

"No other major nation chooses its leaders in such a chaotic manner and the question is whether we should continue to do so."

Mr. Mondale's answer to his own question is "no." But, in the meantime, he thinks maybe it would help to group primaries by regions into six areas and at least give candidates a "chance to roam" contiguous territory before going on to the next area, like old-fashioned circuit-riders.

Foreign political science students have scheduled visits to the United States in 1976 for years ahead to see how the extraordinary system works, and many frankly acknowledge that they don't believe any other country could run it. In Canada, for example, elections (like about two months or less from start to finish, whereas most members of the U.S.

House of Representatives start running the minute they are elected for their two year, fixed term.

Georgia's former Governor Jimmy Carter, who is a Democratic presidential aspirant, acknowledged the other day in Washington that he had been running full-tilt for two years.

In Canada, incidentally, the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition are chosen by fellow members of the Legislature who have seen them in action and know them.

The Founding Fathers expected the American president to be selected by an elite group, banded in the Electoral College.

"In their only serious lack of foresight," Mr. Mondale says sadly, "they rejected political parties; it took less than a decade for the much-feared 'factions' to appear."

Theoretically, the U.S. political system has harnessed factions into the two-party political system. Yet "at the very core of our governmental system," says Mr. Mondale, "there is an inexplicable absence of experienced and sophisticated" discussion on how the system works, and its effect on "the kind of presidents we ultimately elect."

Sen. Mondale doesn't think his six regional primaries would be perfect and certainly couldn't be installed for this election. But the situation is desperate:

"I am at a loss to understand how we can continue to leave it in a continually changing state of chaos, disorder, and irrationality."

The new game of primaries is about to start. The problems of scheduling simultaneous primaries in widely separated states is seen in this partial listing of the primaries:

The Massachusetts primary comes March 2, a week after New Hampshire, but New York and Wisconsin both come April 8; Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, and the District of Columbia all come May 4; Nebraska and West Virginia May 11; Maryland and Michigan May 18; Idaho, Kentucky, Nevada, and Oregon on May 25. Two other dates comprise the list: June 1 for Mississippi, Montana, Rhode Island, and South Dakota; and June 8 for Arkansas, California, New Jersey, and Ohio. (Arkansas may change its date to something earlier.)



# Australia

## Australian voters swing to the right

Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Canberra

"We have lost a very great number of seats. The Liberals have won a very great number of seats. Let me congratulate them on their success."

With those words, former Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam acknowledged what the polls had confirmed Saturday — that the voters here had swung back to the right by the largest margin in history.

Now prime minister in his own right is Malcolm Fraser, leader of the Liberal-Country Party alliance and a veteran of 20 years in politics. Mr. Fraser has been serving as caretaker prime minister since early November, when Mr. Whitlam was dismissed from the post by the Governor-General, the representative of Queen Elizabeth II, for failing to come up with the money to keep his government running.

Mr. Whitlam's Labor Party had won power only three years ago, after 23 years of rule by the Liberal-Country Party alliance and embarked on a program of wide-ranging social and foreign-policy changes.

The spectacular swing back to conservatism came only two weeks after voters in neighboring New Zealand made a similar move, although on a smaller scale. There was considerable speculation here that the New

Zealand result had had some influence on Australian voters.

Estimates were that the Fraser forces would end up with as many as 90 seats in the new House of Representatives, the lower house of Parliament, compared to as few as 34 for Labor. The previous lineup gave Labor 65 seats and the opposition 62. The new majority in any event seemed certain to be a record — the largest previous majority being 40 seats.

And there were indications that the Liberals also would increase their majority in the Senate. Tallying may take a month to complete, but the alliance's ranks may swell to 37 seats from their previous 30.

Mr. Whitlam himself held on to his suburban Sydney seat, but his majority was cut by 11 percent from his last victory. However five former members of his Cabinet were defeated in their own bids for re-election.

In the view of analysts, Mr. Fraser's forces won because:

- Voters were reacting to what many saw as too brash a move to take their country along a path of new identity — one less closely identified with the United States and Britain and more closely identified with Asia and the "third world."

Under the Labor government Australia quickly recognized the People's Republic of China, North Korea, North Vietnam, East Germany, and Soviet occupation of the Baltic

republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. In the last stages of the Indo-China conflict, Australia displayed public sympathy to the North Vietnam cause and then permitted few refugees from South Vietnam to settle here.

Further, there seemed to many Australians unnecessary criticism of the United States. Trade with Rhodesia was ended. The French were offended by Canberra's vocal opposition to their nuclear tests in the Pacific. And the government gave tacit approval to Indonesia's territorial aspirations in Portuguese Timor.

- The Whitlam government's spending habits — spending in the public sector this year was running nearly 50 percent higher than in 1974 — did little to check inflation and unemployment. In addition, the rural and small business sectors are mired in a slump.

- The "loan scandal" — in which Australia tried to raise funds overseas to buy back ownership of its mineral deposits — stripped the Whitlam administration of much public confidence.

- Many Australians resented what they saw as excessive travel overseas by government politicians and their families.

Mr. Fraser's victory became certain only



Fraser smiles over his landslide

1 1/2 hours after the polls closed in the states of eastern Australia. In the cities of Sydney and Melbourne, where Labor traditionally gains its biggest support, there was a significant swing away from it this time.

Mr. Fraser promised to conduct a government that would serve all Australians.

## Asia is not so far away now

By Ronald Vickers  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia

Australia's growing involvement with Asia could well affect life-styles here if it continues at its present pace.

In the past, this country's geographical proximity to Asia has been preempted by its stronger ties to Great Britain, Europe, and the United States. The "white Australia" immigration policy, now officially discarded, reflected a concern at the prospect of eventual numerical domination by migrants of widely different races, religions, and social habits.

While the policy is still maintained in practice, the difference now is that immigration is based on a pragmatic assessment of what is socially feasible rather than on ignorance or prejudice. At the worst, the few Asians living here meet only occasional and mild rudeness.

Similarly:

- Asian students are attending universities here in increasing numbers. Last year, in fact, they represented 7 1/2 percent of all foreign students. Coincidentally, Australian schoolchildren in some areas are learning Japanese or Indonesian as a second language instead of the once-inevitable French, German, or Spanish.

- King Khalid of Saudi Arabia is supplying

and financing Arab lecturers in Arabic literature for Sydney University this year. He also has established 12 scholarships for Muslim students at Australian universities. Around \$1.5 million has been supplied for the building of mosques and Muslim culture centers here, and King Khalid is paying the salaries of imams, or religious leaders.

- The People's Republic of China is losing no time in pursuing opportunities for cultural and trade exchanges. Chinese performers on tour here in November received thunderous ovations and rave reviews in the news media. And department stores are devoting large sales areas to displays of Chinese art, both ancient and modern.

While Asia seems to be drawing closer to Australia, Australians are traveling in fast-growing numbers to see the sights and assess the commercial possibilities among their neighbors to the north.

Even though undeveloped domestic resources call for increasing local investment, more and more Australian money is going into Asian business ventures. By next year, in fact, Australian investment in Indonesia is expected to exceed Japan's.

And when Australians were asked in a recent survey which foreign country would be most important to them in the years ahead, almost as many said Japan as said the United States.

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# Resources

## North America may hold the key to the world's pantry

By Richard Critchfield  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

1976 could be the year when the United States and Canada, the grocers of the world, will have to decide who will get how much grain and on what terms.

Nearly all the world's 150 countries import food, most of it from North America's Great Plains. So much now depends on the weather and harvests.

Several factors are bringing the day of a U.S.-Canadian reckoning steadily closer. These include: forecasts of a smaller winter-wheat crop; prospects that world food reserves will fall to a record low of less than one month's consumption; Russian buying of U.S. grain through 1981; and the failure by the United Nations to hammer out an international food agreement.

These factors have caused increasing calls by experts for the formation of a new joint U.S.-Canadian commission on food policy.

One such call is from Lester R. Brown, president of the Washington-based Worldwatch Institute.

In a forthcoming book, Mr. Brown will propose future U.S. and Canadian grain exports be similarly tied to agricultural investment and birth control in food-importing countries. His scheme would aim to generate self-reliance.

Gentle persuasion, or what Secretary of State Henry Kissinger called an international cooperative effort to improve man's "elementary well-being," has failed since the World Food Conference in Rome one year ago. The conference itself spawned little more than a politically hamstrung World Food Council, the usual host of well-meaning resolutions and a \$1.25 billion fund to help the poorest countries grow more food.

Dr. Kissinger's proposal for a 60-million-ton grain stockpile, downgraded last September to 30 million tons of wheat and rice, appears to be stalled until at least 1977, as a result of European opposition. At the moment there is not enough grain to stockpile.

Mr. Brown's point, if the U.S. and Canada can get together on a common policy, is that oil need not be the only commodity open to embargo. If it comes to rationing oil export food, Mr. Brown would put countries like China and Japan high on any priority list, for trying to solve their own food problems or being reliable, steady customers.

India and Brazil would rate low and Russia would be a special case because of détente.

The three countries that would really count are China, India, and Russia. The 826 million Chinese are well nourished more because of equal food distribution than agricultural gains. But even with the strength and discipline of Chinese Maoist culture, the population growth rate is only down to 1.6 percent (compared with 0.6 percent in the U.S. and close to zero in much of Europe).

There is no doubt India and Bangladesh could multiply their food yields several times over. Unlike Russia and China, they are not up against frost and drought cycles and short growing seasons. The World Bank has estimated Bangladesh could triple its acreage in high-yielding rice varieties and India could triple its acreage under irrigation.

Together, India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh have more arable land than does the U.S., a more bountiful water supply and a climate for all-year multiple cropping. The problem has been politics, poor administration, corruption, and the population explosion, it is explained. Together, the three countries are expected to outpopulate China within the next decade.

Russian agriculture is seen as being an unpredictable mess due as much to inefficiency, massive wastage, and the failure of collective farming, as much as it is to an uncertain and harsh climate.

If food and tempers run out, one-half the world's leaders will be in serious trouble. The long-term solution is to help the Russians, Indians, Chinese, and everybody else to grow more food.

Someone has got to get tough with poor recipient countries, experts say, tying food exports (whether aid or paid-for) to more of a commitment to agriculture and population control, thereby forcing Russia, China, Europe, and the oil-producing countries to accept their share of the obligation.

It looks like this task will increasingly fall on the United States and Canada.

## Soviet needs give U.S. a political lever

By Richard L. Strout  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Russia's new five-year plan means the Soviets will be back again to the United States for food, it is believed here, raising new questions of whether America is making the most of its agricultural superiority.

The Soviets in their new plan reduce their goals in the crucial field of agriculture on which depends their hope for a higher standard of living. This follows a harvest disaster in the Soviet Union and a bumper grain crop in the United States, which has just signed a new five-year food agreement with Moscow.

"Food represents political power," declares Lester R. Brown, head of the nonprofit Worldwatch Institute here, who asks, like others, whether the U.S. Government realizes the leverage which its position of world food supplier puts at America's disposal.

In 1972 the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) was taken by surprise by the U.S.S.R.'s grain deficiency, and helped bail the Soviets out at a high cost to the American consumer — grain prices in a few years have tripled.

America's shift from unsold grain to depleted supply has been so swift that the public is only beginning to realize it and the government, it is argued, has lagged in exploiting it.

Now the Soviet Government is intervening in Angola, raising acutely again the delicate international situation in which the U.S. helps maintain the Russian living standard while quarreling with her diplomatically.

The disparity between U.S. and Soviet grain crops is here to stay, agronomists declare. Canada and the United States have become the breadbasket of the world with bewildering rapidity; they averaged exports of only 5 million tons, 1954-58, and in 1975 some 85 million tons, a 16-fold increase.

Russia had shortfalls in 1963, 1965, and 1967. E. A. Jaenicke of the agriculture consulting firm E. A. Jaenicke & Associates, notes Soviet grain imports in the millions of tons in four recent years: 1972 — 20.8; 1973 — 10.9; 1974 only 4.9; 1975 25 million.

Russia's erratic purchases based on variable climate and efforts to upgrade diet, affect the world.

The United States, on Oct. 28, signed a five-year agreement with the Soviet Union allowing it to purchase 8 million tons a year (or 6 million U.S. grain crop falls below 25 million tons). The U.S. grain crop this year is around 240 million.

Agriculture Secretary Earl L. Butz hails this as a stabilizing factor. But some observers note Mr. Butz's strong distaste for government intervention.

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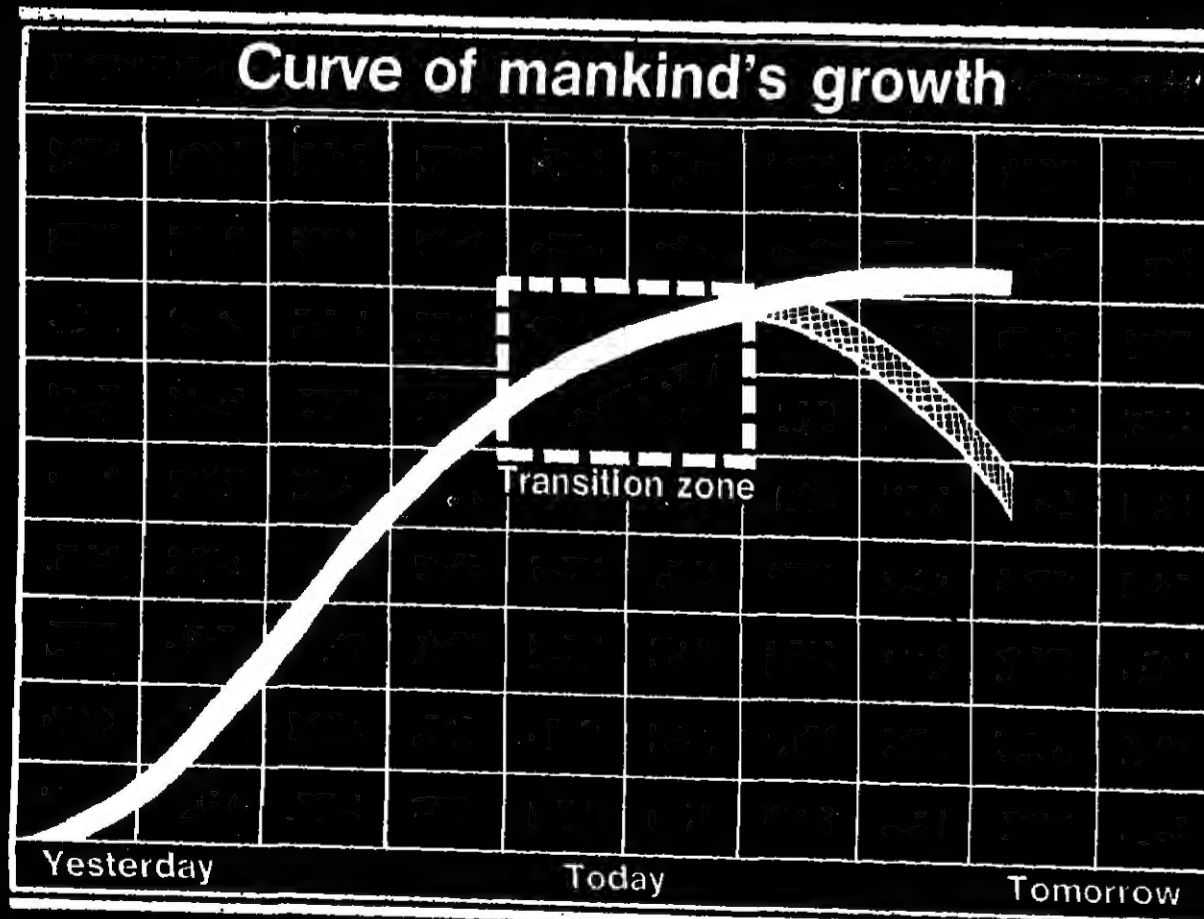
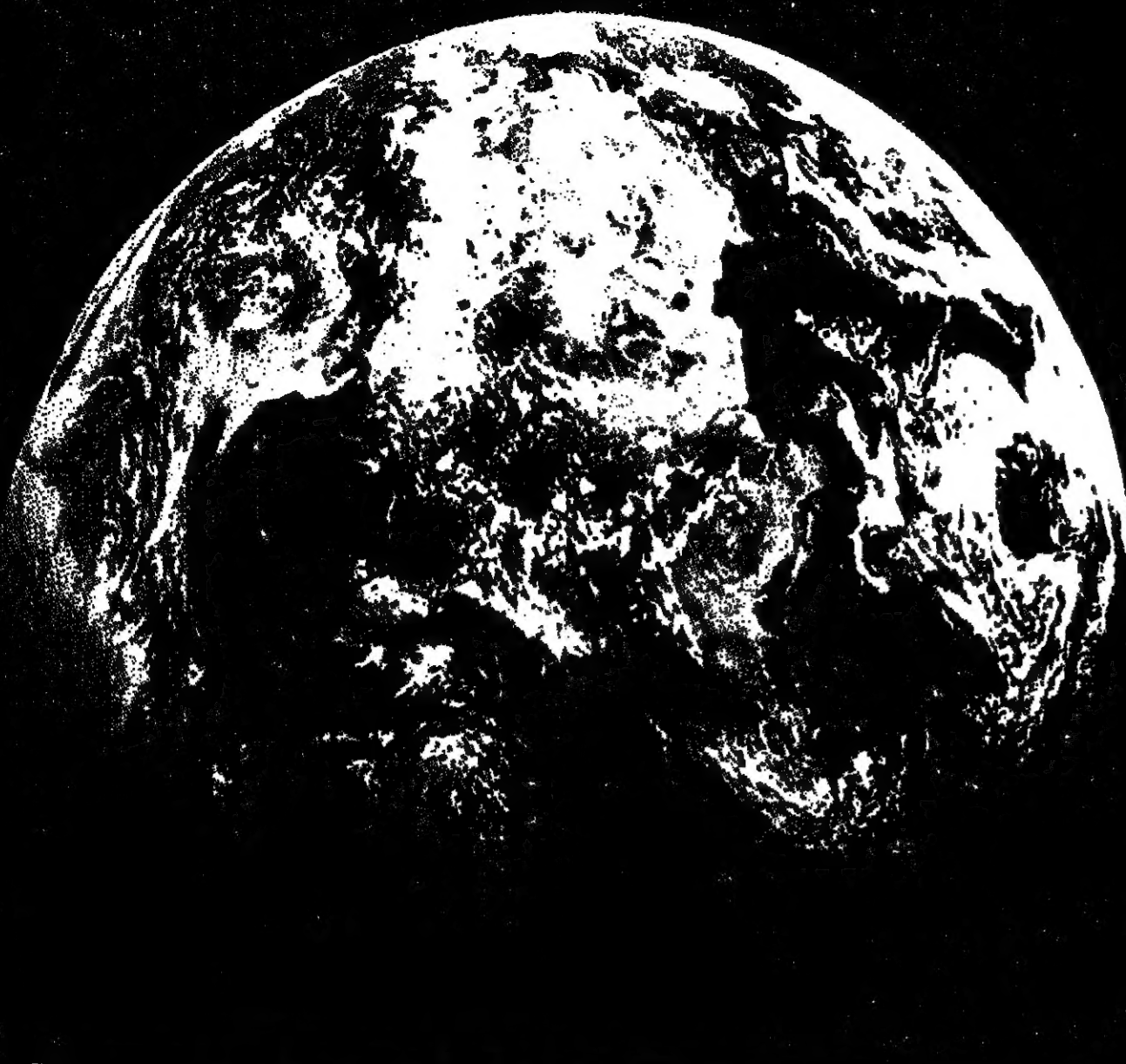
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Monitor



# Is growth good for us?

Debate sharpens with futurists predicting a new epoch as significant as the advent of the industrial revolution



Any index of mankind's growth — population, use of resources, or what have you — follows a curve somewhat like this. Growth starts slowly, then rises steeply, but at some point must taper off. Many experts think we now are at the point of transition from rapid growth to tapering off, or even collapse.

By Robert C. Cowen  
Feature editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

At a recent conference on humanity's future, futurist Herman Kahn struck a sour note — pessimistic.

Before an audience including some of the leading apostles of impending collapse, he dared suggest "many of the issues causing such concern today are more growing pains of success... than growing doom."

The mid-1970s, he said, more or less mark a turning point in what can be mankind's great transition from a world which was a vale of tears and suffering to one which, without being a utopia, still will be a place of relative joy, fulfillment, peace, prosperity for nearly everyone.

"How can two authorities, working with the same trends and data, hold such different views about the future?" asked conference chairman Dennis Meadows, shaking his head in exasperation. Extensive analyses had convinced him that only basic austerity lies ahead. He couldn't understand why maverick from the Hudson Institute, who had pioneered techniques of scientific soothsaying two decades ago, didn't agree with him.

Dr. Meadows' rhetorical question, kicking off the final session, epitomized the conference. Experts shown in fulsome detail that continued unbridled material growth — resource depletion, overpopulation, pollution — threaten the collapse of civilization, the extinction of mankind. Yet, in spite of the stark, held convictions of their authors, none of the speakers has been a reliable guide for government policy or the life-style an individual should adopt.

## 'Fear' cautioned against

As Dr. Kahn pointed out, having admitted dangers, man's future still lies largely in his hands. Thought filled with such fear it would dole out economic growth "will impede the resolution of current problems, and perhaps even lead to the disasters which we all want to prevent," he said.

Sponsored by Mitchell Energy & Development Corp., the University of Houston, and the Club of Rome — an international association of businessmen, government officials, and scholars — the conference was held to take stock of the status of the growth debate — hence, name, "Limits to Growth '75."

Dr. Meadows advised that it would not be "possible" to leave a meeting like this with a neat set of answers. Nevertheless, and in spite of a divergence in viewpoints, there did seem to be agreement on a fundamental point. Few now question that mankind is in transition to a new era, a change as epochal as evolution from hunting to farming or the advent of the industrial revolution.

Most experts accept that mankind is nearing a slowdown region of the "S"-shaped growth curve brought to public attention by a study which Dr. Meadows, now at Dartmouth College, led at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). It produced the original "Limits to Growth" report sponsored by the Club of Rome and published two years ago.

These growth curves — for population, food, energy, or simply money growing at a constant rate of interest — all have the same general shape. They rise steeply

**'It will always be possible, through substitutes, redesign, or the adoption of alternative processes, to continue economic activities.'**

Futurist Herman Kahn

first, then soar so rapidly they appear to be growing to infinity. That, of course, can't happen, so eventually the growth rate begins to slow down and growth approaches some limit.

## An example of growth

The classic illustration is that of pond lilies that double their area each day. Undisturbed at first, the pond owner decides to wait until they cover half the pond to control them. When that time comes, he awakens to realize he has only one day left in which to act. The next doubling will cover the pond. It also will halt the lilies' growth and so crowd them as to make life difficult.

Much of the disagreement among the prophets lies in their judgments of how far we are from the ultimate growth limits. Some think the lilies already cover a quarter of the pond, will cover half of it by 1989, and will fill it to disaster in the next century. They would put the growth brakes on hard. Others feel we have more leeway.

Dr. Kahn, for example, thinks growth will slow gradually. He expects world population to begin slowing soon. Based on projections made at the Hudson Institute, Inc., a "think tank" at Croton-on-Hudson in New York, he says "it will always be possible, through substitutes, redesign, or the adoption of alternative processes, to continue economic activities." Indeed, he notes, to halt economic growth would be to condemn developing nations to poverty. Within two centuries, he foresees mankind evolving "a world of approximately 10 billion people, give or take a factor of two, with an average income of \$20,000 per capita (in current dollars), give or take a factor of three."

Dr. Kahn acknowledges the immediate challenges of hunger, energy shortages, and pollution. But he adds that he expects "human resolve and human ability" to meet them. He admits that his forecast flies in the face of a consensus among many scholars that growth must be cut dramatically for practical and moral reasons — that it must be replaced by a shift "from affluence to austerity, from conspicuous consumption by the few to equitable distribution among all of a limited and finite product." He thinks such scholars misread the trends.

## This is the "enemy"

However, Dr. Meadows, and many others who take the kind of forecasting seriously, maintain passionately the attitudes Dr. Kahn despises. The conference met in the newest of American new towns. Eleven years in the planning, it has been open six months, offering people at many income levels the prospect of housing, jobs, and life in a protected country area.

"This," Dr. Meadows said, "is the 'enemy.' When Woodlands was conceived 11 years ago, it represented some of the most advanced thinking of the time. But that time didn't take account of growth limits. So you have energy-intensive opulence. The 'enemy' is our own well-intentioned development of this country. Now we have to see how we can move to simpler life-styles that can be sustained."

Dr. Meadows' own historic forecast, and others like it, are based on techniques of simulating the world mathematically, techniques first worked out by Jay W. Forrester at MIT. Their strength is the computer's ability to reveal the interactions of a host of factors too complex for the unaided human mind to grasp. This can highlight global trends that might otherwise go undetected.

But the mathematical models are oversimplified. Many of their important factors can only be guessed at. Moreover, the mathematical errors inherent in such modeling can grow so large specific forecasts may not be reliable for more than a decade into the future.

Yet, within their limitations, such models do allow one to test different strategies for meeting the growth challenge. Many of these studies suggest the only strategy that will avoid disaster is to slow growth as fast as possible. And if this strategy is compatible with your personal philosophy, as in the case of Dr. Meadows, a vegetarian who lives on a communal farm, it is easy to give it moral priority.

## What the poorer countries see

However, the poorer countries see it differently, as explained by Mahbub ul Haq, former minister for planning and development of Pakistan, one of the few "third-world" representatives at the conference. "There are four major messages for the third world in the limits-to-growth idea," he said:

- "The limits are not physical, basically, but maldistribution and misuse of world resources. Even though population growth is less than 1 percent in developed countries, and is 2.4 percent in the third world, the developed countries' population puts more pressure on world resources."

- "Increasingly, the cost of finding resources is going to go up. This penalizes the third world, which comes to the resource table late. It calls for larger transfer of resources from the rich nations."

- "It is not so much the rate of growth that is the heart of the problem, as it is the structure of growth. Growth patterns need to be based less on primary resources and more on human needs, consumer goods, and services."

- "We have to learn how to focus on the long run. This is one of the basic messages of the limits-to-growth concept. This calls for planning, a greater element of global planning."

## A note of realism

This was largely a restatement of the third world's insistent demand for a "new global economic order." But to a conference where human needs were often merely grist for the computer, it brought a note of realism.

Yet even this was too abstract for Jean Houston of the Foundation for Mind Research. She jumped on Mahbub ul Haq for reducing man's spiritual aspects to economic statistics. "Where," she asked, "is the individual's rich imagination from which the change you ask must

**'We have to see how we can move to simpler life-styles that can be sustained.'**

Futurist Dennis Meadows

actually come?" Mahbub ul Haq explained sadly that he, and many like him, have been so Westernized by education they have lost touch with their own people. He no longer is intimately enough acquainted with their everyday thinking to feel at one with them. So, he said, he must deal with them through statistics.

His comment made one wonder how in tune with their own people the limits-to-growth prophets of Western nations are when, on one hand, a Herman Kahn seems to miss the discontent of the young with extravagant living regardless of growth limits; and on the other hand, a Dennis Meadows feels uncomfortable in an American new town where an ideal he once admired is being put into practice, even though it may not yet have caught up with the latest element of concern.

## Checklist for a futurist's credibility

Prof. Dennis Meadows of Dartmouth College, one of the leading forecasters of mankind's future, offers the following checklist for deciding when to believe an expert.

- Don't accept proof by assertion. Insist on having the forecast method explained to you. Also, don't accept proof by isolated example. It's the broad undercurrent of trends that is of interest, which specific examples may highlight.

- Is the forecast derived from a static or dynamic image of the future? A static view is no good, for our problems are dynamic, changing throughout time.

- Does the forecast take adequate account of time delays? Many processes don't take place overnight.

- Is the forecast based on narrow preoccupation with technology when the need is to create new values, new institutions?

- What value judgments are implicit in the forecast? A tendency to assume technology can change fairly quickly while social values are fixed is misleading; our greatest hope lies in adapting values to physical limits.

R. C. C.



## people/places/things

### Kojak: cops are the 'big gorilla's' greatest fans

By Phil Elderkin  
Universal City, California

Telly Savalas, the bald-headed Manhattan police lieutenant who entertains 35 million fans each week on the TV series "Kojak," shares the same shadow, vocabulary, and personality as the character he portrays. But it is important to Savalas that "Kojak," no matter how tough he appears, always comes through to the viewer as a cop with a heart.

"Savalas and Kojak — we're the same guy," Telly says, turning on his electric eyes. "Hey, you think it's going to be different, baby, you're wrong. You don't walk onto a TV set and create a character like me in five minutes. Even I know that. I have to be Telly. I have to play myself by whatever name. Otherwise, I'm in trouble."

There is a lot of actor and confidence man in Savalas, even when he's not acting. I talked to him first in his dressing room, later on the "Kojak" set, and still later in the expensive mobile home that follows him around Universal City.

The bungalow that he uses as his dressing room-office is not the glamour home-away-from-home that you expect a star of his magnitude to have. For one thing, it is not nearly big enough to handle his entourage, which seems to constantly fluctuate between four and eight people. Nothing appears to be quite where it ought to be.

His secretary, for example, works out of the kitchen. His piano partially blocks the front entrance of his cottage. A stereo is blasting his half-singing, half-talking voice through a new Telly Savalas album. On the same set of shelves as the stereo is a lonesome looking football. Elsewhere in the room, books, papers, and tapes are scattered everywhere.

On the "Kojak" set, Telly bounces from place to place almost as fast as the metal ball that hits the lighted bumpers in a pinball machine. He's always moving; always talking to somebody between takes; always kissing some woman's hand.

And Savalas appeals to men, too — the way a pro athlete would or a male personality who has made it big in a tough profession. He's a presence — big enough to fill a drill hall.

When Telly told his circle of friends to get out of the front of his mobile home so that we could talk without interruption, he physically

pushed two of them into a back bedroom. They acted like it happens all the time.

Savalas's background is interesting. As a kid, he grew up in some of the worst and some of the best sections of New York City. He claims he was a whiz as a high-school quarterback — the fastest thing around.

He remains close to his family and especially his brother George, the bushy-haired Stavros who can often be seen watering his plants in the squad room of the "Kojak" set.

"The slums weren't so bad because you were always reaching for something better and that was good," Telly explained. "I was a fresh kid. I met some neighborhood policeman growing up who both patted me on the head and kicked me. And when they kicked me it was because I deserved it."

"One night around Christmas time when I was 10 years old, I sneaked out of the house and went to a New York department store to see Santa Claus," he continued. "I asked him for a Flexible Flyer sled and he said I could count on it. I think every kid in Manhattan wanted a Flexible Flyer that year."

"Anyway, on my way out of the store I went right past those sleds and suddenly I thought to myself — why wait? Baby, I took the biggest one I could carry and immediately ran right into a cop. I tried to con him by telling him that Santa Claus told me I could have it, but he wasn't buying."

"He took the sled and my name and address and the next morning he came around to the house to see my mother. He didn't say too much about me, but he blasted my mother for letting a kid my age go downtown alone at night. Today police departments all over the country are my biggest fans."

Telly interrupted his education at Columbia University at the beginning of World War II to enlist in the United States Army. After three years in the service, he resumed his studies at Columbia, majoring in psychology. He graduated with honors and a Bachelor of Science degree.

But for him psychology always lacked a certain kick, so he moved instead into the Information Service of the State Department, where he eventually became executive director. Three years later he became a senior director of news and special events for the American Broadcasting Company. He created



Telly Savalas: playing himself, baby

the "Your Voice of America" series that won both a Freedom Foundation and Peabody award for the network.

Savalas got into acting by a side door. Unable to help a theatrical agent track down an actor who could correctly imitate a particular European accent, Telly auditioned for the part and got it. Burt Lancaster caught the show and signed him to play Feto Gomez in "Birdman of Alcatraz." His performance got him an Academy Award nomination for best supporting actor in 1962.

Savalas, who is not naturally bald, first shaved his head to play the part of Pontius Pilate in "The Greatest Story Ever Told" and it has become his trademark. But to keep his image, Telly must shave that massive dome every day and it's a nuisance.

Between 1962 and 1971, Savalas appeared as a heavy in about 60 motion pictures. Yet in 1973 when CBS-TV asked Telly to come home from Europe and play the lead in a three-hour video movie based on two New York murders that would be the pilot film for "Kojak," he was reluctant to say yes. His

hesitation was based on two things: he was having too much fun overseas and he didn't want to get locked into a weekly TV series.

"But I liked this Kojak character right away because he wasn't just another super cop who never made a mistake," Savalas said. "This guy may have been a big gorilla, like me, but he had style. He was fair. He'd look the other way once in a while to give somebody a break. He was also as good a con man sometimes as the crooks he was chasing."

"I liked a couple of other things, too," he continued. "I had assurances from the producers that this show would never cut any financial corners — that it would be done right. I also liked the idea that I'd have a lot of control over the script."

What happens when Kojak is no longer fun for Telly Savalas, who recently did a command performance (his Las Vegas night club act) before the Queen of England and the Royal Family?

"I'll quit, baby, and go do something else," he replied. "It's as simple as that." Chances are this Jellybean wasn't kidding.

"Two three-month sessions are not enough to reform a situation which has developed over a thousand years. It is so serious and difficult a problem that we must be willing to work on it for several years."

Recently a U.S. law-of-the-sea negotiator, Lee Ratiner, said that from the American point of view the discussions have reached an impasse. As a result, the Ford administration has been considering unilateral steps to license deep-sea mining companies.

"Talk of such unilateral actions indicates a lack of maturity," charges Captain Cousteau.

Besides the fate of the seas, the Captain has definite opinions about energy. He is an ardent backer of solar power, and has calculated that it would cost the United States about \$1 trillion over 15 years to develop this energy source in all its forms.

The possibility of getting methane — a major ingredient in natural gas — from fast-growing kelp intrigues him particularly.

Kelp grows at a fantastic rate, two or three feet a day, he explains enthusiastically. Ninety-three percent of the energy it stores can be converted to methane. One of the scientists who is studying this for the U.S. Coast Guard calculates that a 400-mile-by-400-mile area in the open ocean could supply half the current U.S. energy demand.

The \$6-billion energy research budget just approved by a U.S. House-Senate conference is a "declaration of war with the Cousteau Society," says its founder. "We will support offshore oil development only if enough money goes into solar-energy research, but in this bill there is only peanuts."



By a staff photographer

Cousteau: rescuing oceans with energy and Gallic charm

Inland seas like the Mediterranean are dying; the open oceans themselves are in jeopardy; solar energy is not being given enough support, he says.

Regarding the fate of the oceans, "The majority of scientists see no hope," says Captain Cousteau. "In this they are more pessimistic than I."

Present antipollution efforts involve letting polluters pollute and then trying to purify it, he explains. "This costs a fantastic fortune. But if that money could be used to stop the polluting at the source, it could solve the problem," he says. Half seriously, half jokingly, the captain suggests that all factories be required to serve their purified effluent as drinking water in their cafeterias.

## Cousteau fights for seas

By David F. Salisbury  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

There's more to Jacques Cousteau these days than just undersea adventure.

Instead of confronting sharks in the murky depths, the famed underwater explorer is preparing to face politicians and world leaders in their own dens. He is building an organization to fight for the preservation of the oceans he loves.

"I am entering a new phase in my life," said Captain Cousteau in a recent interview. "I have been a fighter against the elements. Now I am a fighter against the system when it is wrong."

The primary instrument for his political activism is the newly formed Cousteau Society. This is a nonprofit organization dedicated "to the protection and improvement of life." Although it has been operating for less than a year, the society already boasts 120,000 American members.

Besides supporting ocean research, the organization will work to "raise the consciousness" of the people through media, books, and educational programs, says Captain Cousteau.

When asked why this is necessary, he replied, "There is sufficient evidence that world leaders are systematically lying about environmental and energy matters."

## people/places/things

### York recalls Dickens and hissing trains

By David Butwin  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

York, England

This splendid, cramped little city is worth a visit at any time of year, but at Christmas it looks like a city out of Dickens.

That 19th century author generally celebrated Christmas in the Kent countryside, but the Yule spirit somehow seems to go with this medieval city's frosty narrow streets and clogging, half-timbered houses.

Dickens was drawn to York often to visit his brother Alfred, a civil engineer. The writer also gave readings here: After his first performance, the Yorkshire Gazette reported: "Last evening, 'Charles Dickens read his ghostly little book 'A Christmas Carol' before a most fashionable and numerous audience. His reception was most enthusiastic and he proceeded, amidst repeated marks of applause..."

While attending a service in York Minster — the largest Gothic church in England — Dickens listened to the "deep organ's bursting heart throb through the shivering air" and was shown the impressive Five Sisters stained-glass window — which he later incorporated into "Nicholas Nickleby."

The church's windows have impressed visitors throughout the ages, representing as they do a whole range of glass-painting artistry from the 12th to the 20th century. At the outset of World War II, 80 of the Minster's finest windows were removed and put in storage against the threat of Nazi bombing. It took local glaziers — a skilled and respected group 20 years to clean, restore, and replace the vaulted glass after the war.

More recently, a York engineering team undertook a massive shoring up project to prevent the cathedral itself from collapsing. The job was begun in 1967, and only this year did the scaffolding and other tools of renovation disappear. In the process of stabilizing the church's foundation, workers uncovered vast archaeological evidence tracing York's history back 1800 years to Roman times. The result is a cleverly presented Undercroft Museum beneath the cathedral, which takes a visitor past Saxon tombs, Roman columns (the Roman legions were headquartered on this very site in the early 4th century), and a



Shops and boutiques have replaced the butchers' shops of York's famous Shambles

priceless treasury of the Minster's most important keepsakes.

There are at least two other museums worth visiting in York. One, the new National Railway Museum, opens during an important year for British (and worldwide) rail historians: the 150th anniversary of the first regular steam hauled passenger service on the Stockton and Darlington Railway in Yorkshire in 1825. The Museum's Great Hall, 360 by 200 feet, houses such treasures as the full-size express locomotive "Ellerman Lines" with cutaway sections, Queen Victoria's private parlor car, and a post office Pullman car, "Topaz."

York's Castle Museum is a remarkable

repository of local treasures and trivia, a something-for-everybody collection. The site is the original York Castle, and the museum buildings were recently served as female and debtor prisons. Much of this considerable folk collection was amassed by a Dr. John Lamplugh Kirk, of nearby Pickering, who launched the museum himself in the late 1930s. The galleries, providing an intimate look at York and Yorkshire folkways, include collections of fans, valentines, snuff boxes, police truncheons, hat pins, odd kitchen gadgets, and farm implements such as tail-cutters and cheese presses. The main attraction, though, is Dr. Kirk's cobbled Victorian street — built into the old prison exercise yard — complete with haberdasher, china shop,

pawnbroker, hansom cab, and early post office.

To walk the streets of York itself is to pass through a kind of museum. You can mount the medieval walls, which still encircle most of the old city; step in and out of floodlit church ruins; stroll the Shambles — once a huddled lane of butcher shops and now a quaint row of shops and boutiques; explore high-beamed guild halls and stately homes.

At Christmas, the five-day tourist office program (from Dec. 23 through 27), will keep visitors busy from morning to night, with Dickensian readings, guided tours, Dickensian banquets and Minster services. Snow is not guaranteed, but then, who knows what to expect in this year of oddball British weather.

## French opera star insists French is 'terrible' to sing in

By Thor Eckerdt Jr.  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor  
New York

What makes a prima donna?

That elusive combination of stature, grandeur, charisma, posture, and total presence? The opera stages have never been overflowing with this genre of star, but when one is on stage, electricity reigns.

Such is the case with the French soprano Regine Crespin. Even in a role not ideally suited to her, the audience sits up and takes notice when she's on stage. The regal roles, Trueta, Dido in Berlioz's "Les Troyens," Sieglinde in Wagner's "Die Walkure," and Zarachalla in Strauss's "Der Rosenkavalier," are all glove-fits to her considerable talents, and in at least two of these roles — Marchallin and Dido — she is considered without equal today.

This season at the Metropolitan, Miss Crespin has assumed a role totally counter to her temperament. Carmen, and emerged as one of the great gypsy heroines of this or any time. When asked why she chose Carmen, she says with a laugh: "I think it was Carmen who chose me!" Conductor Alain Lombard had asked her to record it, which she refused to do until after two concert performances. "In the beginning I said 'no, it's a mezzo part.' But when I really began to study it, I realized it was a hybrid role" — many voices could really sing it.

"It's amazing," she interrupts herself to note. "Usually when I do a part for the first

time in my life, I'm nervous, I'm doubting, and questioning myself how it is — is it going to be good or not. With Carmen, I felt immediately like I had put on an old robe, it fit so easily. . . . For the first time in my life, I have sung a part where I can laugh in the first two acts, and for me, this is a very special pleasure." To watch her on stage at the Met, with every detail of the role so naturally unfolded, so consistently insightful and appealing, it is impossible to believe she had never done the role before these Met appearances.

"I have four or five favorite parts — Sieglinde, Dido, Marchallin, now maybe Carmen." She's sung all but Dido at the Met, though she was in the first U.S. performance of the entire Berlioz "Les Troyens" in Boston with Sarah Caldwell. "That was a fabulous production," she states enthusiastically. "I liked that production, and yet at that time I was not in very good form [under the weather]. Still, I enjoyed working with Caldwell. She was fabulous [said with emphatic awe]. She's brilliant. It's funny because I've sung the part very often. Really I like and I feel it. When we discussed it [Miss Caldwell] made me discover a lot of things — that, I like. If they do it at the Met, I would like to. . . . I'm dying to sing it there."

Miss Crespin is no stranger to the recital stage. "It is completely different," she notes, "and for me, it is complimentary. . . . opera is so extrovert. It is difficult for the voice to go from one to another. For three minutes you have a little story which is gay, or sad, moody or slow, or quick. And if [the song] goes fast, you have to change in every song."

Miss Crespin candidly admits to not always having been in good form. Five years ago,

when her personal life was in turmoil, she thought she might even stop singing; she'd lost the love, and in her words, she "was in big trouble. When I canceled at the Opera," I said, "Well, you have nothing to do for one year, now get to work." I found a teacher through friends. . . . I went to him like a student. I was thinking maybe some prima donna would be ashamed and I wasn't. I enjoyed it."

Which brings up another point, sparked by her comment: "It's very difficult to be, say, Miss Crespin and Regine, to be a well-known singer and just a woman. It is not easy to have both things combined in equilibrium, especially for a woman. For a man, the wife is there all the time."

In the summer, she goes to her house in Mallorca, and marvelous relaxation, painting, doing curtains and pillows. "Before, I was thinking, 'Instead of doing this one stupid thing, you should be doing things for you.' But now, she is making her life more simple, and states, "Now I can face all the problems and say, 'Is it for Regine, or Crespin?'"

Next on her agenda, after New York, recordings of three Offenbach operettas, "La Perichole," "La Vie Parisienne," and "La Grande Duchesse de Gerolstein." "I wish to do that one on the stage." And she repeats for emphasis, "That's my wish! And I am sure if they would do that at the Metropolitan, even on that big stage, it would be something the public would enjoy, because it's a fabulous work, and Offenbach. . . . her uniquely French cadence needs no further words."



## arts

## Victorian painter John Martin back in vogue

By Gerald Priestland  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

The British are a literary race: so it is not surprising that their best-loved, though hardly greatest, painters are essentially illustrators. Hogarth for a start; the pre-Raphaelites; and now comes a revival of John Martin (1789-1854) — Victorian painter of the terrifying and fantastic.

An exhibition of his pictures at the Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox Gallery in Bury Street, London, was timed to coincide with the publication of a richly illustrated study of his work "The Art of John Martin" (Oxford University Press £7) by William Weaver, art critic of The Observer.

Martin was the 15th child of an unemployed Northumberland tanner. His early training was as a painter of heraldic devices on gentlemen's carriages, and as a decorator of china. This craftsmanship of minute detail is apparent in much of his later work. He was only 21 when his first oil painting was hung in the Royal Academy.

A few years later he was engaged as drawing-master to Princess Charlotte, daughter of George IV, and by the time he was 30 he was well established as a painter of views of country houses.

In 1819, however, he produced "The Fall of Babylon" — the first of a long line of pictorial cataclysms that stretched for 35 years or so, alternating with engravings and mezzotints (of which he became a master). From the middle of his career onwards, Martin also devoted a great deal of time to various inventions and conservation schemes, such as a plan for improving London's water supplies and sewers and a laminated beam of wood and cast iron. This debilitated him financially, and at one stage he was ruined by a City banking

fraud. To recover his fortunes he produced increasingly spectacular paintings and engravings based upon them.

So popular were these that the paintings were taken on tour, in America as well as Britain, and viewed by the public much as they might view a sensational horror film today. The climax of Martin's oeuvre was a set of three large paintings on the Last Judgment. Today they hang imposingly in the Tate Gallery; but only 40 years ago they were sold at auction for seven pounds the lot.

Martin's subjects were almost entirely biblical or literary, with a strong preference for catastrophes. The fall of Babylon, Nineveh, Carthage, Sodom and Gomorrah — the Seventh Plague of Egypt, the Eve of the Deluge, the Opening of the Seventh Seal, were like banquets to his appetite. Their casts of thousands, their towering architecture irresistibly forecast the spectacular movies of D. W. Griffith and Cecil B. de Mille, and indeed the former's "Intolerance" did actually draw upon Martin's work for scenic inspiration.

Milton, Byron and the Bible provided Martin with such titles as "Adam and Eve entertaining the Angel Raphael," "Manfred and the Witch of the Alps," "Joshua commanding the sun to stand still upon Gibeon" (a special favourite) "Behemoth's Feast."

There are many who still would not give more than seven pounds for any three of Martin's works. For he is hardly likely to appeal to those who judge painting entirely on its abstract or painterly qualities. Unlike Rembrandt, Raphael and other masters who have painted to story themes, it is quite impossible to understand Martin's work without knowing precisely what the story is. Vast armies wind to and fro across the canvases, mythical skyscrapers soar into the clouds, and somewhere in the foreground half-a-dozen tiny — and often not very well executed —

figures act out the crucial tableau.

Some of the pieces still impart a certain kitsch thrill: "Sodom and Gomorrah" is a kind of Victorian-biblical Hiroshima, and "Pandemonium" (a Miltonic illustration) is a real feat of horrific imagination — a satanic Pentagon rising out of molten lava. These are the kind of paintings it would be fun to have in a dull waiting-room; one can while away hours savouring the detail.

Perhaps Martin's strongest suit is space, which he creates — sometimes in infinite depth — largely by the manipulation of color. For this reason, black and white photographs of his paintings are usually disappointing. Sometimes, too, he was unable to control his compositions on so vast a scale. Yet when he returned them to mezzotints he frequently

managed to correct this. His smaller water-colour pieces, like the Manfred items in this exhibition, also remain well-knit; and there is a remarkable late landscape, a study of rocks and bushes done in water-colour, which is full of thrust and force. Supremely, there are awesome black-and-white engravings like "The Bridge over Chaos" which are breathtakingly airborne, and organically composed.

Not a great painter, then, but a great romantic — a kind of minor Berlioz or poor man's Turner. Contemplating the great "Pandemonium," with its specially designed frame of writhing serpents, it is not surprising to learn from the catalogue that Martin's brother Jonathan was confined to the Bedlam lunatic asylum for attempting to burn down York Minster.

## BBC's Wheldon offers tips to U.S.

By Stewart Dill McBride  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

American television should take a few tips from the "ancient Britons."

So says Huw Wheldon, managing director of BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) Television. He assails critics who consider American television the "wilderness of monkeys," and openly admits he rather likes Johnny Carson, Mary Tyler Moore, and the old Phil Silvers show.

But television in the U.S. has "too many ads" and generally lacks the literary and dramatic tradition of its British counterpart, said Mr. Wheldon, under whose direction the BBC produced TV classics such as "Civilization," "America," "The Ascent of Man," "The Six Wives of Henry VIII," "War and Peace," and "The Forsyte Saga."

"While American television is largely enjoyable, it seems to me unthinkable that a year should pass when you haven't tried to get plays from the country's leading playwrights," Mr. Wheldon told a Boston audience packed into historic Faneuil Hall. "[Harold] Pinter wouldn't have been Pinter had it not been for the BBC."

Although some public television stations in the U.S., notably Boston's WGBH, have experimented with innovative programming and imported British productions, said Mr. Wheldon, for the most part American shows are mass-produced by committees of commercial script writers, not individual authors, and consequently become quantity, not quality productions.

The secret to creative television, other than having enough financing, he claims, is to trust script writing not to large groups but to individuals like Alistair Cooke and Kenneth Clark.

Mr. Wheldon admitted that the BBC did have the advantage of "learning on a great literary tradition in England" where "actors come two a penny" and it is a safe bet to hire any performer who had "a name sounding like a freshwater English fish."

Ultimately the dichotomy between U.S. and British television boils down to the fact that "in your country television is paid for largely by advertisers" and the programming will continue to reflect that commercialism, said Mr. Wheldon. The BBC is a public corporation, independent of the government but operating under a charter drafted by Parliament.

In the U.S., good programs surface "in spite of, not because of" the process of production. "The best show we ever bought from the U.S. was the original Phil Silvers show. And that was no cry of the American spirit. He was simply a funny man."

## Tubby

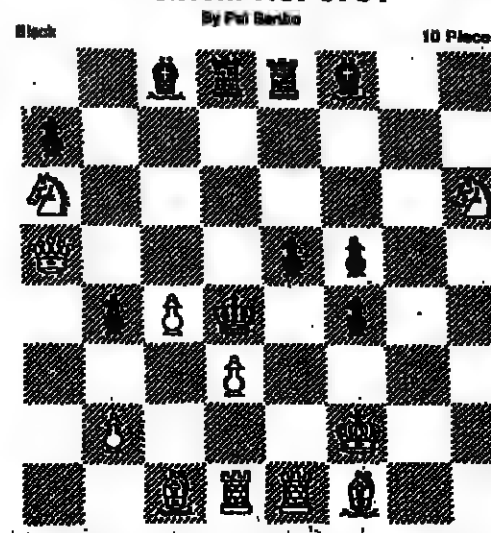


By Guernsey Le Pelley

## chess

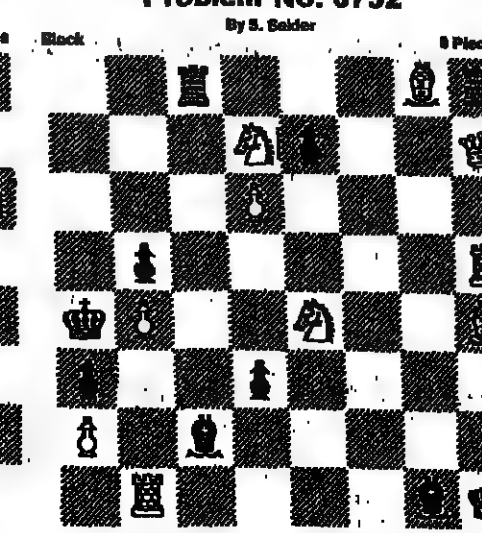
By Frederick R. Chevalier  
Prepared for The Christian Science Monitor

## Problem No. 6751



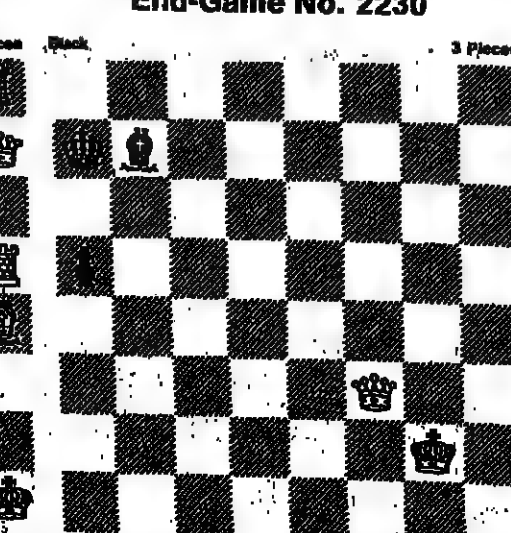
Whites to play and mate in two.  
(First prize, Mag. Sekk., 1974. Mr. Benko, originally from Hungary, ranks as one of nine U.S. grandmasters. Most top problem composers do not engage in strong over-the-board play.)

## Problem No. 6752



White to play and mate in three.  
(First prize, ex aequo with Problem No. 6754, to be published next week.)

## End-Game No. 2230



Can White, to play, avoid defeat?  
(N. Fischer-Chibrikov, 1962.)

## Solutions to Problems

No. 6749 P-B7  
No. 6750. 1 R-K, B-B2; 2 B-B4  
If 1... P-K5; 2 Q-Qch  
End-Game No. 2229. White wins: 1 B-B4, R-Q8; 2 Q-Qch, K-Q; 3 Q-Q8ch, K-B; 4 R-B5, R-Q8. If instead of K-Q, Black tries K-B, then 3 R-Qch, P-R; 4 Q-Qch, K-K; 5 Q-K15ch, K-B2; 6 R-Bch, etc.

## books

## In celebration of fair Oxford

Oxford in the History of England, by A. L. Rowse. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$15.95. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. £4.50.

By Robert Nye

"Towery city and branchy between towers." Gerard Manley Hopkins's lines in praise of Oxford are only slightly less memorable than Matthew Arnold's:

And that sweet city with her dreaming spires,  
She needs not June for beauty's heightening,  
Lovely at all times she lies, lovely tonight!

It is no accident that Oxford has been blessed with a number of first-rate poets. The university town on the river Isis stands for something rich and traditional in the English ethos. A theme of Dr. Rowse's book develops the contrast between Cambridge — Puritan, Whiggish, given to mathematics and science — and the essentially poetic nature of Oxford, Anglican, Royalist, with a bias towards law and public affairs.

However, his book draws no crude or rigid lines. He celebrates Oxford both as a state of mind and as an actual place. He traces its history as one of the leading universities of Europe from the time of the later Middle Ages. He follows in the footsteps of the many famous men who have walked through its streets, attended its colleges, learned and taught there — men like John Henry Newman, Walter Pater, Robert Bridges, Arthur Hugh Clough, Archbishop Laud, Samuel Johnson.

In telling the story of Oxford, Dr. Rowse finds himself giving us a quick guide to the heart of English history — just as Oxford may be the heart of England, or perhaps more properly Ireland.

King Charles I made Oxford his capital during the Civil War — one of the best chapters deals with that period. The Royal Society stemmed from the brilliant flowering of science at Oxford in the 17th century. The Oxford Movement, which revitalized the Church of England, or at any rate recalled it to its high heritage, spread out from the university and from parishes round about it, in the preaching of such men as Newman, Pusey, and Keble. Earlier, too, there had been another religious reawakening inspired from Oxford, in the shape of the Wesley brothers, John and Charles.

About all these matters Dr. Rowse writes with candor and detachment. There is occasionally a slight lack of balance in his account — dislike of Newman discolors his portrait of that saintly man, who was indeed rather tougher than Dr. Rowse implies. But by and large this book has the merit of being excellent history and good company.

Robert Nye is a poet, critic, and essayist who lives in Scotland.



Nijinsky in 'Danse Siamoise': he was perfect symbol of ecstatic-tragic life

## Nijinsky: setting the record straight

Nijinsky Dancing, by Lincoln Kirstein. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 171 pp. \$29.95. London: Thames and Hudson. £12.50.

By Nancy Goldner

No dancer has been so glorified or debunked as Nijinsky. He is the quintessential star whose performances in the Diaghilev repertory from 1909 to 1917 still pervade theaters and minds as perversely. He is a perfect symbol of the ecstatic-tragic life, a meteor shot down by mental illness at age 29.

He is also mythologized as an idiot genius, a pawn of Diaghilev, a noble savage who untroubled audiences through mere instinct. The fact that he choreographed to such

complex music as Debussy and Stravinsky would seem to contradict the idiot-genius theory, but this activity has been rationalized away. "Afternoon of a Faun," "Jeux," and "Rite of Spring" have usually been described as incoherent, stylistic aberrations foreshadowing Nijinsky's schizophrenia, or at best well-intentioned but pathetic failures.

Lincoln Kirstein's purpose in "Nijinsky Dancing" is to set the record straight. To Kirstein, if Nijinsky was a star, he was so precisely because he was the antithesis of stardom as it is customarily understood. He never presented himself as a self-styled, easily identified commodity. His face was a mask, his personality a blank through which he chose to "personify" rather than impersonate. Whatever personal magnetism and manner he

had was generalized and deepened into the universal.

Although he reacted against 19th-century norms and the strictures of the Maryinsky Theater in St. Petersburg, his technical authority stemmed from Russian schooling, while his moral authority stemmed from the Czarist regime in which he matured, where ballet was at the service of the state. He could bring ballet into the 20th century because he was a child of the 19th century.

Nijinsky's achievement as a choreographer is what most deeply interests Kirstein, however. Going far beyond Fokine's concern for bringing historical authenticity into ballet, Nijinsky's "Afternoon of a Faun" was, as Kirstein points out, "a lyric of metaphysical rather than historical conception." With its heavy, raw, asymmetrical steps and patterns, Nijinsky's "Rite of Spring" shattered and re-educated the eyes as much as Stravinsky's score did the ears.

In all of his ballets Nijinsky consciously broke classical ballet's norms of roundness and lightness to develop other notions of beauty. Working with a student of Dalcroze, he was the first to treat music analytically, to expose the rhythms in the silences, to work against or in between the musical grain. Although Kirstein never saw Nijinsky, his discussions make a watertight case for Nijinsky as the first modern choreographer, a national genius able to change ballet without destroying it.

Kirstein's comments of Nijinsky's repertory, plus insightful analyses of Fokine, Isadora Duncan, and the extent of their influence on Nijinsky, are accompanied by beautiful, at times compelling photographs of Nijinsky. Essentially they serve as pretexts for Kirstein to have his say, but sometimes they seem to have inhibited rather than kindled his imagination. One wishes that Kirstein had said more, had taken calculated intuitive leaps into ballets he never saw and blended reasoned fantasy with fact.

Nancy Goldner writes dance criticism for the Monitor.



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## Insects in flight

Borne on the Wind: The Extraordinary World of Insects in Flight, by Stephen Dalton. New York: Reader's Digest Press. 160 pp. \$18.95. London: Chatto & Windus. £5.

By Jeanne Remington

The flight of insects is a rare subject for a large, handsomely illustrated book, but Stephen Dalton, an English naturalist, photographer, and aviator has presented it in a style to captivate all ages of nature buffs.

Dalton's prose, frequently fanciful and anthropomorphic, is never pedantic, and some minor factual errors would not intrude upon the nonprofessional's enjoyment.



# financial

## Soviet cut-rate shipping worries competitors

By Ron Scherer  
Business and financial correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

New York  
American shipowners are looking increasingly towards the east — to keep a watch for the growing Soviet merchant marine.

Shipowners whose vessels ply the Atlantic are becoming more worried that the Soviet Union — as it has done in the Pacific — will begin cutting rates in order to fill their ships. Notes Edward J. Heine Jr., president of the United States Lines, the second largest U.S. shipowner, "The Russians have 21 vessels on the West Coast that never call on Russian ports." The Russians, he complains, have cut rates 20 to 40 percent, resulting in a loss of trade by U.S. carriers.

An official of the American Institute of Merchant Shipping (AIMS) predicts the Russians will have at least 300 new ships plying the seas by 1980. These vessels will probably be used for commerce other than East-West trade. Warns Mr. Heine, "There isn't enough East-West trade to support all these ships."

Because the Soviets can operate the ships at lower rates than the American merchant marine — and underwrite any losses — American shippers claim U.S. carriers are competing in an unfair environment. As a consequence, shipowners are seeking government help through a measure called the Third-

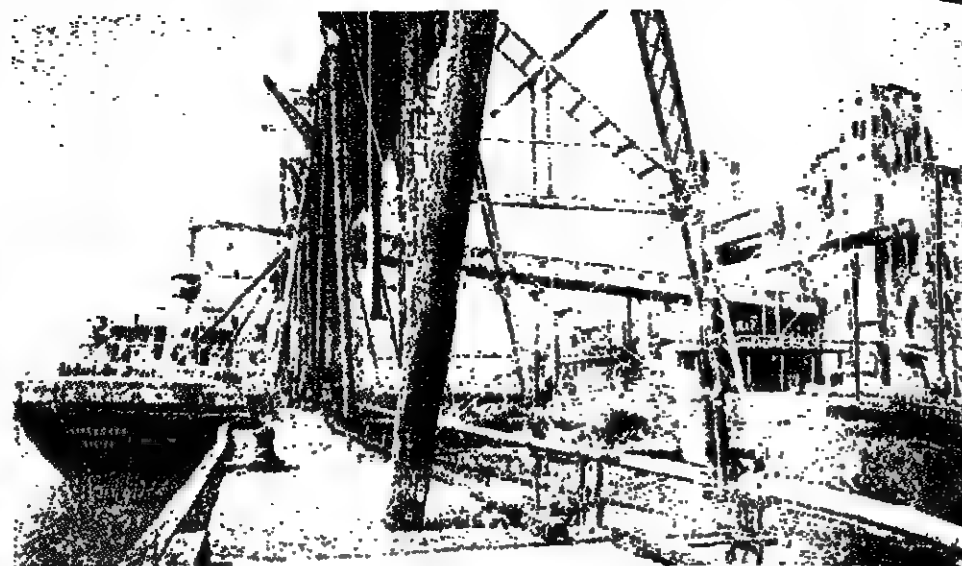
Flag Rate Bill. The legislation — as it now stands — requires that third-flag ships compete with U.S. ships on a commercial basis. (A third-flag ship is one from a nation not involved in the export or import of the goods shipped.)

At the moment, the State Department is opposed to the bill. But Mr. Heine maintains the State Department would not oppose a bill that said "state-run" third-flag fleets must compete on a commercial basis. This would limit the bill to mostly Eastern bloc countries.

Whether or not it would damage detente is unknown. Mr. Heine recalls that when the bill was first introduced — and looked as if it was going to be passed quickly — the Russians talked of joining a "rate conference." Such conferences stabilize shipping rates. However, as the legislation dragged on, Mr. Heine says, the Russians seemed to lose interest in the conference.

Paul Richardson, vice-chairman of Sealand Services, Inc., the largest U.S. line, also points out that foreign shipowners are wary of the Soviets as well. He says the British and Germans are also working on legislation to protect their shipping industries.

As chairman of the board of governors of the National Maritime Council — a joint industry and labor organization — Mr. Richardson finds organized labor as concerned about the Russians as management.



By R. Norman Muthony, staff photographer

What price transport? Soviet ship takes on cargo at New Orleans dock

A general management consultant, Richard O. Bond of Cresap, McCormick, and Pegel, Inc., believes that once international business picks up, there will be enough business for U.S. and Russian ships. He admits the Russians are a force to be reckoned with because they don't need to make a profit, but adds, "when rates get low, service tends to deteriorate. Shippers will pay more for better service and good cargo handling."

Mr. Bond comments that Congress will find more pressure to keep rates unregulated from U.S. exporters than U.S. shipowners.

The U.S. merchant marine likes to call itself the fourth arm of defense. Mr. Richardson

maintains that a strong merchant marine is important — as the U.S. discovered during the Vietnam war.

Jane's U.S.A., a leading authority on all forms of shipping agrees in its book, "Jane's Freight Containers 1974/75," that "the military logistics value of this new fleet (Russian) should not be overlooked."

The editor of the book, Patrick Finlay, adds, "The Eastern bloc container fleets may present a threat to stable freight rates on the world's trade routes... since their policies may be dictated on political rather than economic grounds."

# Japanese government keeps control of foreign investment

By Charles E. Dole  
Automotive editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Does liberalization of foreign-capital investment in Japan mean what it says? Or does it really mean that no non-Japanese company can expect to obtain more than 49 percent of an imported ongoing Japanese concern?

It seems all but impossible to get a specific reply from Japan's powerful Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI).

All that Takao Tominaga, head of the automobile division of MITI, will say is: "It all depends on the circumstances, both in Japan as well as in the United States."

Mr. Tominaga, for instance, wouldn't spell out what action MITI would take in the event General Motors wants to increase its 34.2 percent equity in Isuzu when the current 5 year contract expires in 1976.

Isuzu now builds the GM Opel, which was shifted from West Germany to Japan for a number of reasons, including cost. The Japanese company also builds the LUV minitruck for Chevrolet.

If GM wanted to increase its equity in Isuzu to more than 50 percent, it might find MITI squarely in the way. Mr.

Tominaga ducked a question on the issue. He pointed out, for example, that GM could be facing antitrust action in the U.S. But he did not explain the relevance of such an eventuality to GM's involvement in a Japanese carmaking operation.

The response is what one American terms "belly talk." In other words, it isn't what the Japanese MITI official said, but rather what he did not say, that is important, noted a key official of Subaru of America, Inc., the only U.S.-owned distributor of Japanese cars in the United States.

It means, he added, that despite the gradual liberalization of foreign-capital investment in Japan, no U.S. company can control an ongoing Japanese industry.

Chrysler also has a toehold in the Japanese auto industry with its 15 percent bite of Mitsubishi, which builds the Dodge Colt and soon will be shipping the Plymouth version of the car, Arrow, to the U.S.

MITI is clearly at the controls of the Japanese auto industry. It can't produce a new car model without MITI's okay.

U.S. auto-firm activity in Japan, although small in terms of the total market, does provide the Detroit manufacturers with a chance at more business in Asia, including a potentially huge market in Communist China sometime in the future.

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# Bermuda: holidaying in Britain's oldest colony

Excellent small hotels, guest houses, help keep cost down for visitor

By Leavitt F. Morris  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Hamilton, Bermuda  
It was in 1937, a short time after Pan American World Airways inaugurated air service to Bermuda, that I made a memorable 14-hour flight to that coral island from Port Washington, New York, aboard the 22-passenger flying boat built by Igor Sikorsky.

For all aboard it was a thrilling experience, having breakfast in New York and afternoon tea in Bermuda!

Soon after came the faster, long-range, land-based planes, and finally the jet, which makes the flight in a little more than an hour and a half. But Pan American, after nearly 40 years of providing service to Great Britain's oldest colony, has bowed out of the picture, relinquishing its route to American Airlines with its Boeing 707s. American joins four other airlines in flying to Bermuda — Delta and Eastern from the United States and Air Canada and British Airways from their respective countries.

Flying into the highly competitive market for tourist business to Bermuda, American Airlines is offering several attractive package tours designed to lure budget-conscious travelers to its plane.

Tour rates range from as low as \$37 per person double for four days and three nights, to \$383.50 for eight days and seven nights per family of three. (In all cases air fare is additional.)

The basic package vacation tour offers 51 island accommodations from which to choose, plus a choice of one of the following: a five-hour cruise around Great Sound, including barbecue lunch, swimming on secluded Hawks Island, calypso entertainment, or an all-day sightseeing tour of Bermuda by car

(minimum four persons per car), including admission to Devil's Hole Aquarium, Crystal Caves, and Bermuda's perfume factory. In all cases round-trip transfers between airport and hotel are included in the cost.

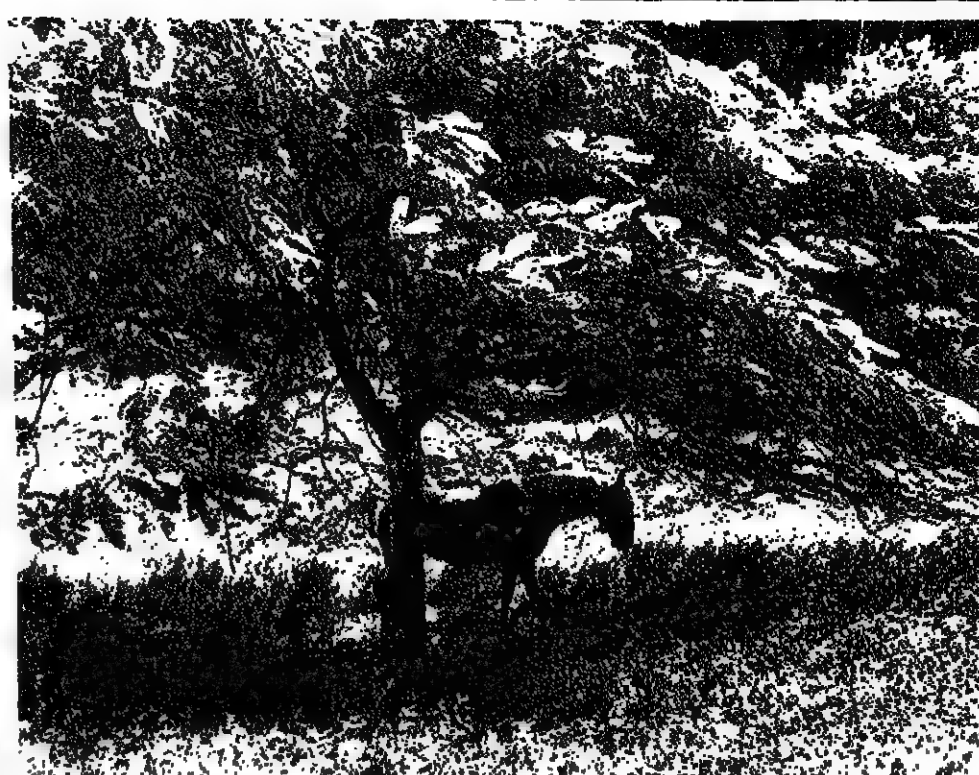
Three of the most popular package tours, according to American Airlines, are their eight-day, seven-night Tennis Specials from \$174.50 per person double; Honeymoon Specials from \$339; and Golf Specials from \$231.50. In these packages a choice of from 13 to 18 hotels is offered; breakfast and dinner are included unless otherwise indicated.

Over the years Bermuda's luxury hotels — the Castle Harbour, Belmont Manor, Elbow Beach, and Southampton Princess — have received more than their share of promotion in the United States. However, Bermuda has many excellent small hotels, guest houses, and apartment facilities offering some of the amenities of the large hotels — and their rates usually are only half as much.

I spent the better part of a day visiting unannounced a score of these guest homes, housekeeping cottages, and apartments, and in nearly every instance I found them clean and attractive.

One of the nicest I visited was Pleasant View in Pembroke Parish, located within a short walk from Hamilton's main shopping street and with a view of the sea. Pleasant View offers a studio apartment and large twin bedrooms with wall-to-wall carpeting, air conditioning, heat, clock radios, and television. Rates from Oct. 1 to March 15 are \$12 per person, double, with full breakfast. The studio apartment costs \$14 per person, and has facilities for getting meals. Lunch and dinner will be served on request.

In Smith's Parish the Cubana Vacation Apartments offer luxurious comfort. Well-appointed suites, each with its own private



Bermuda News Bureau

Golden palomino seeks shade of Poinciana in Smith's Parish, Bermuda

entrance, have fully equipped kitchens. Maid service includes basic cleaning, bedmaking, and towel changes each morning. There is a 44-foot freshwater pool located in an attractive coral quarry setting. Winter rates are \$12 a day double, per person. An apartment for four costs \$52.

Another attractive small guest house in Smith's Parish is Seven Arches, situated on spacious grounds overlooking the blue Atlantic. Located only 10 minutes from Hamilton, Seven Arches reflects the atmosphere of the old Bermuda home which it once was. The main house rooms are all comfortably furnished and air-conditioned. Seven Arches operates on the Bermuda Plan, which includes room and a full breakfast, at the rate of \$13.80 per person double a day. For the cottages the charge is \$30 per day for two persons.

In the Paget district one of the loveliest accommodations is Greenbank Guest House

and Cottages, situated one minute from the picturesque little ferry that transports passengers to and from Hamilton in 10 minutes. Greenbank overlooks Hamilton Harbor and has swimming and boating facilities at its own dock. Rates from Dec. 1 to March 15 in the Main House in a twin-bedded room are \$11 to \$13, which includes a full breakfast. All rooms have private baths. In the waterside cabanas, the cost is from \$13 to \$13.50 double per person, including breakfast.

I selected these little-publicized accommodations at random, and I feel they are representative of Bermuda's less-expensive lodgings. In most instances the owners can arrange for golf on one (or several) of Bermuda's fine courses, and for tennis at the public courts and at some private clubs. Most of them also have motor bikes delivered to your door, or set up deep-sea fishing trips and boating excursions.

## new york

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## Where Madame de Stael met Byron

By Kimball Hendrick

Geneva  
For a Geneva-based traveler in Europe who wants to see England, there's hardly a better travel buy than London Air Tour's round-trip package.

It includes the 1½-hour flight both ways by British Caledonian Airways, three nights with breakfast at a good hotel in London, and bus transportation to and from London's Gatwick Airport. All this at the rate for a first-class hotel (there are higher and lower categories) for about \$130.

If you've made Switzerland your travel center, this makes a handy way to take in some London theater and some good sightseeing in and around Britain's capital. It's possible to stay longer — to

have three nights in London, go off on your own to other parts of England for several days, and return to Gatwick on the day stipulated.

As a base, Geneva is splendid. Besides its handsome site on its famed lake, with glimpses of Mont Blanc on clear days, its shops and monuments, its narrow streets winding up through the old city, its museums and music make it the capital of French-speaking Switzerland.

From here you can take numerous one-day trips by fine highways or by fine Swiss trains, to cities as different as Gorman-speaking Bern, the Federal capital, or Solothurn, once famous as the home of French ambassadors. You only have to ask at the Geneva tourist office located near the place where the lake empties into the Rhone River, for tips on other possibilities.

Much nearer, just eight miles from Geneva, is Coppet, the lakeside village where Madame de Stael lived in exile. Her chateau, open daily except Monday, is worth a visit. She held court there in great style, with callers such as Lord Byron and Edward Gibbon among others.

There is Nyon, five miles beyond, which Julius Caesar founded about 45 B.C. as a camp for war veterans. The castle seems as romantic as a picture for a child's fairy story, but its collection of Nyon china will interest the serious student of ceramics. Nyon today is a pleasant market town, as is Rolle three miles beyond, and as is Morges, eight miles farther, with its castle dated 1286.

If you have planned a week for compact Switzerland, you can easily take overnight trips to points as distant as Basel, St. Gall, and Thun. For many, Thun proves more fascinating than nearby Interlaken. Much less a tourist center, it shares with Interlaken magnificent views of Alpine peaks and has, besides, the character of a small prospering Swiss city that takes pride in its past.

Then, of course, there's Zurich — big, expensive, rich in art, the epitome of Swiss-German success. Hotels in all categories are plentiful in all Swiss cities and are noted both for good service and high prices. Well-kept bathless doubles, including breakfast, are apt to cost about \$14; top category rooms with bath will cost three times as much.

Breaking a Swiss stay in two by making a side trip to London would make logical saving time for Lugano, the main city of Italian-speaking Switzerland. The trip by train or car from Geneva threads delightfully along lake and river and through mountains into another world, almost Mediterranean in character, very Italian in its relaxed feeling, thoroughly Swiss in its efficiency.

Travelers, by asking around, can discover more travel buys — London Air Tour's travel package is just a sample. In the United States, for instance, you can get a demi-fare ticket for \$22 which gives you a month of Swiss train, lake, and postal motor coach travel at half price. Most European countries, including Britain, have similar inducements.

Some, like the famed Eurotaxis, are best bought before you leave home. Others can be arranged for in the U.S. Any Geneva travel agent can help. (It's possible now to buy Eurotaxis in London, Frankfurt, and other European centers, but you pay a penalty.)

London Air Tour flights, incidentally, leave Geneva four days a week. Check locally.

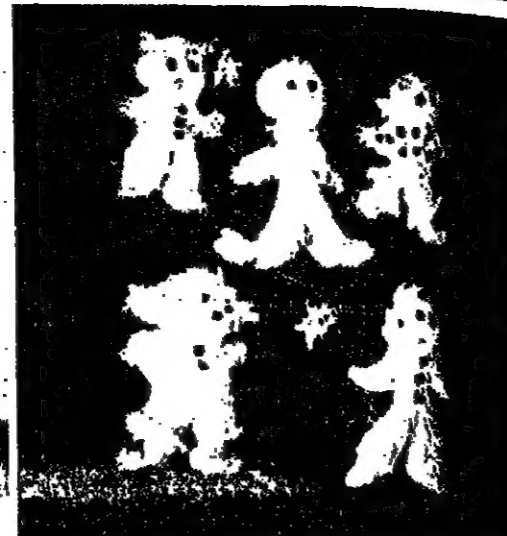
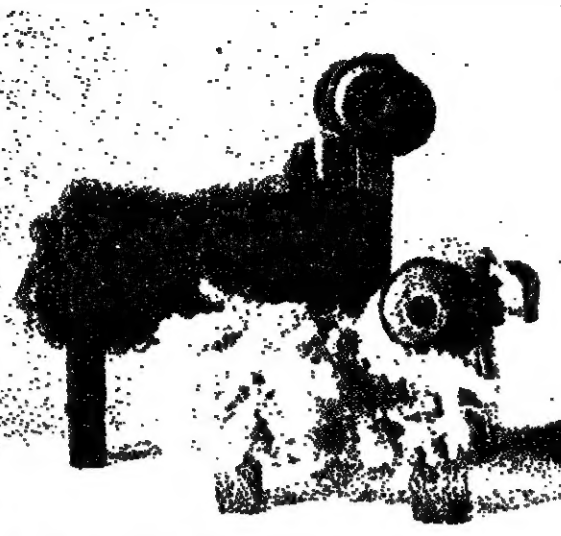
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## home/children



Swiss traditions in handmade toys include (l to r) carved-wood faces, wooden figurines and home-made bread men

## Swiss toy designer offers advice for parents

By Eleanor Gurewitsch  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

In a loft in a semideserted building in the picturesque Old City, Antonio Vitali is putting the finishing touches on a fascinating exhibition of Swiss toys. There are old toys and new ones, toys which are commercially available and one-of-a-kind models. Some have been made rather clumsily by hand from bits of lumber and twigs, others sculpted in wood or other materials by artists with international reputations.

The toys soon will be placed carefully in packing cases and shipped off to the United States. Under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington the toys will be exhibited in various American cities for two

years as a special bicentennial birthday greeting from Switzerland to the U.S.

Mr. Vitali designs toys which go into toy shops on at least three continents, and in private conversation he offers many reasons why parents should take the time and trouble to make toys with and for their children. He recommends this even for parents who don't consider themselves talented in the do-it-yourself department.

"The reason we are able to put together such a broad spectrum of toys in this exhibit is directly due to the fact that in our small country parents, artists, and toy specialists have all concerned themselves with toys," Mr. Vitali explained in a recent interview here. "Children want to be taken seriously by their parents and by other adults. When father and

mother give their time and attention to a project, and work with children on a model home or a simple wooden figure, the child feels that his parents care.

"The ideal toys evolve in the family situation," Mr. Vitali continued. "Children don't want to feel that their parents are trying to 'buy' them by means of an expensive toy, quickly purchased. Children sense when parents are trying to buy peace of mind, and freedom from involvement, through the gift of a complicated toy which the children are supposed to play with — alone. As parents we must learn not merely to provide things to keep our children occupied. We must work with them, give them generously of our time and interest."

Mr. Vitali also considers it important to help

children to acquire a sense of what is beautiful. "Children have no sense of beauty at all, no taste, when they come into the world," he says. "They must be educated, become accustomed to beautiful things, learn to be at home with things which are well designed, have a good form."

What to do when a gift of something which the parents find completely unattractive arrives on the scene? Vitali recommends that parents relax under such circumstances. If the child is taken with a new toy or a new book which is visually contrary to everything the parents consider beautiful let him enjoy the new object for a time. If he has been surrounded by beautiful things for a number of years, his brief infatuation with an unlovely item will pass rather quickly.

## Plants: multiplying by division

By Christopher Andreas  
Eldroth, North Yorkshire  
When it comes to plants, to divide is to multiply.

Put simply, "division," is a way of getting more plants by pulling one apart, making sure each piece has a root attached. If the root is missing you have a "cutting."

Division (like taking cuttings) has the advantage over seed in that the new plant is inevitably true to its parent.

Not all plants will divide. Annuals for instance are grown from seed. But those perennials which are "divisible" generally respond best in autumn or spring. A well-established clump of two or three-year-old michaelmas daisies or phlox or salvia superba or hardy geraniums — all standbys of the herbaceous garden — can be divided without much loss of productivity. The good old technique of piercing the lifted mass of roots with two forks back-to-back and working the handles to and fro, soon loosens them into promising pieces, each with plenty of root.

Other large herbaceous plants which divide readily include the graceful delia, primula wanda, monarda, the "globe flower" trolia, helenium, astilbe.

Division is not only a quick means of increasing phlox and herbs. It is also an essential ingredient for keeping a garden fresh and lively year by year. A herbaceous plant left too long unattended will starve. Division and replanting in soil that has been given a good dig and a dose of fresh compost or well-rotted

manure is the answer. Usually part of the outside of a clump is liveliest. The rest can be chucked on the compost heap — or, if good enough, given away.

Delphiniums need this treatment every three years or so. When the new shoots appear in spring is easiest. The roots should be carefully investigated and teased apart; then the selected part detached with a sharp knife. A hefty slice with a big spade is butchery. (But if a shoot does break off by mistake, it can be stuck in some sand; it will root as likely as not.)

A slightly different dividing process applies to plants which might be described as "uncumbersome." Rosemary, for instance, or artemisia (in either case you come out afterwards smelling like a perfume salesman) or the biennial sweet william, or that oddly stiff little cottage edging plant, primula auricula. Since they do not have a mass of roots, I find them easiest to divide by hand. Secateurs might be helpful in the case of very woody stems, but a sudden tug (it's a

knack, neither too timid nor too rough, which comes with a little practice) is usually enough to split or tear the place where two stems meet, while retaining some root.

Of all divisible alpine — in fact of all divisible plants I know — the autumn gentians take the prize. These are G. sino-ornata and its relations. They disappear in winter, and just after they've sent up minute green spikes again in spring is dividing time. Their roots, for such small beginnings, are surprisingly thick and tough. And although they seem densely matted together, when the soil is dislodged or washed off each separated section of the plant disentangles itself, like a clever Chinese puzzle, from the rest. No tearing, pulling, cutting or splitting. They just gently come apart. Each plant can produce up to a dozen of these divisions. If firmly planted, right up to the crown, in gritty and well-drained soil, about four inches apart, they will become a crowd of bright blue trumpets in the following autumn. That, in my book, is division par excellence.

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## education/science

On the Hopi reservation:

## A school to make Indians proud

By Cynthia Parsons  
Education editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Hotevilla, Arizona  
White educators charge Indian pupils with being lazy, unmotivated, sloppy, unwilling to go out for competitive sports, and poor academic risks.

Indian educators charge white teachers with deliberately giving Indian children a poor image of themselves by demeaning them as people and denigrating their cultural history.

Both federal and public school administrators charge that Indian children fight a lot, sniff glue, are absent from classes without permission, drop out of school, and generally by the fifth grade are two years behind white pupils.

Indian educators say that both public-school teachers and those who teach in and administer Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools force Indian pupils into slow-learning groups and channel them into the least interesting and least intellectually stimulating vocational classes.

Much of what is written about Indians, especially those books most children read for pleasure and study in school, presents a distorted view.

We're told, for example, that Columbus "discovered" America when it already had civilized inhabitants. We're told that Indians massacred the early settlers, and not that Indians died and killed in defense of their homes, their lives, and their families.

Almost all United States history texts used in schools — those used to teach both Indian and white pupils — present only the point of view of Americans of European descent and seldom the point of view of native Americans.

If it is true that Indian children learn best when they work cooperatively instead of competitively; that they respond best to teaching when they feel good about themselves and are comfortable with their cultural roots; that they learn more quickly when the school environment is more like their home environment — then what is the answer? How can schools accommodate these pupils? What sort of classroom experiences will keep them from absenteeism, glue sniffing, alcoholism, and dropping out?

There are several schools, all Indian-run, which are attempting to answer just these questions.

Rough Rock School in the Navajo Nation is one; so is Hocky Boy, a Chippewa-Cree School in Montana. Another is the Hotevilla-Bacavi Community School which is located on the Third Mesa on the Hopi Reservation which is surrounded by the Navajo Nation in the middle of the Arizona desert.

Carolyn Warner, superintendent of public instruction for the State of Arizona, shook her head when asked about the school. She knew nothing about it. Yet, some of the nation's most distinguished scholars had been there to help out the

staff and to do some teacher training, courtesy of the National Humanities Faculty based in Concord, Massachusetts. This rang no bell.

Raul Castro, Governor of Arizona, told me of his many visits to Indian reservations and his feeling that all the Indians of Arizona were Arizonans regardless of where they made their home or what their customs were. Yet, when Hotevilla was mentioned, he too shook his head. He had not been there.

Whether Arizona officials are aware of it or not, the school is well described in a brochure published by the BIA entitled "Indian Education: Steps to Progress in the 70's."

The Hotevilla-Bacavi Community School is everything it is touted to be — and more. As it turned out, the principal, Vernon Maseyeva had to be away for the day so a tour of the school was given by Riley Balenquah, his assistant.

No charge could be made that, in this school, Indian children were having to use inferior materials, that the room was overcrowded, or that the teacher had too many children and could give no individual attention.

The noise level was marvelous — just enough sound to tell a teacher that things were being learned, but calm enough to indicate that no tensions were developing.

The social-studies teacher, also from Bacavi, who had a small group of boys working on a project while listening to Indian dance music the teacher had taped at a recent festival, explained that he is in his third year of trying to work out a curriculum for these students which reflects their own culture, but which also gives them a good picture of the rest of mankind.

At base, he explained, was a controversial, government-sponsored curriculum "Man, A Course of Study." This course has drawn criticism because of its explicit descriptions of life in a "primitive" culture. For Indian children, it is a "natural." He said it was working well, but that he could find no other commercial materials which don't distort Indian history. This, he added, meant that he and some of the other teachers had "to invent the wheel."

None of the stereotypes of apathetic children, poorly prepared teachers, adult indifference, or student absenteeism was evident. The school is clearly a beloved community center as well as a place to have fun and learn.

The band master, looking like a band master in any suburban all-white school, was finding it absolutely incredible, as do school-band masters everywhere, that a young trombonist did not know what a black line signified when it went through "that big fat note." And when the band played, it sounded like any other band made up of children whose legs are too short to reach the gym floor when they sit back on their chairs.

The little Indian girl placing animals in a plastic corral



Pupil at the Hotevilla-Bacavi school

looked like any child in suburbia who had the same toys with which to play.

But something more was going on, and has been going on for a couple of years. There is a conscious effort to meet head on the many problems besetting this isolated reservation — unemployment, alcoholism, a lack of economic development, school absenteeism, and a dropout problem. Teachers and administrators are willing to talk about the needs. Moreover, they not only are willing to try new ways to solve the problems, but savvy enough to negotiate both academic and financial support from private and public sources.

Hotevilla-Bacavi Community School expects to free itself from BIA regulations and to contract instead to run the school using government funds free of government restrictions.

One such restriction they are looking forward to dropping is the BIA hiring regulations. All of the teachers now at the school come under the civil service. Contracting would make it possible for the school to advertise and recruit teachers who meet their needs, regardless of their civil-service status. It also would mean they could get more teachers for the same staff money, as they would not have to pay the very high civil-service salaries but could contract with the teachers individually. Of course, no unions or collective bargaining are involved.

## Parlor trick used to breed better food plants

By David F. Salisbury  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor  
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Progress is being made on a radical new process which may double the harvests of wheat, barley, and rice.

This method involves growing plants from single cells. It allows scientists to speed up and direct the course of natural selection in a small laboratory dish.

This method was one of the areas of agricultural research offering "promise for large-scale improvements in world food supply and nutrition," according to a recently released National Academy of Sciences report.

For many years, scientists have known that entire plants can be grown from tiny bits of tissue fed with suitable chemicals. Until recently, this was considered little more than a parlor trick.

But two years ago a young plant biologist, Peter S. Carlson, now at Michigan State University, proved that this "trick" could be used to genetically alter some of the basic properties of a plant species. And Dr. Israel Zelig of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station in New Haven has recently adapted this method to increase plant efficiency.

Efficiency in plants is a measure of their ability to use sunlight to convert water and carbon dioxide into living matter. Since the 1960s it has been known that some plants,

such as corn, sugar cane, and sorghum, are much more efficient than other crops. Typical yields for these species are triple those of soybeans and wheat.

"Using plant cells we now have a good chance to improve other species," says Dr. Zelig.

In any plant that can be grown from cells it is possible to artificially speed up and direct the process of evolution, according to the handful of scientists who are developing this technique. The tens of thousands of cells grown in a laboratory dish are equivalent to a vast field holding the same number of plants.

When these cells are placed for an instant under ultraviolet light mutants are created. The scientists then subject the mutated cell cultures to special conditions: only those with the desired characteristics survive.

The survivors are grown into plants and tested. If they prove satisfactory, their seeds will become the basis for a new crop strain.

Tobacco, carrot, and tomato are easily grown from cells, says Dr. Zelig. Wheat, barley, rice, and corn are more difficult, but researchers have gotten them to grow from clumps of cells. No one has done this successfully with soybeans or other legumes yet.

Both Drs. Carlson and Zelig have been working with tobacco. Dr. Carlson has successfully bred species with higher than normal protein content and added disease resistance.

In its original form, however, this method could not be used to select plants with high efficiency. The cells were cultured in a sugar solution. With enough food the plant cells did not develop their ability to use light to produce material from carbon dioxide and water.

"The cells must express a characteristic before it can be improved upon by this method," explains Dr. Zelig.

So the scientist has successfully grown tobacco cells on light, carbon dioxide, and water. He has just begun using this method to isolate cells which "breathe" more efficiently. Much of the carbon dioxide a plant absorbs is given off, instead of being converted into plant tissue, the scientist says. Corn is so productive because it breathes very efficiently.

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# French/German

## Editorial:

### NATO's needs

Last week's NATO meeting in Brussels attended by U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger came at a time of mounting concern about Soviet expansionism in the South Atlantic and the continuing imbalance of East-West forces in Central Europe in favor of the Warsaw Pact. The basic problem is how to keep NATO's defenses updated and strong in the face of a Soviet military and naval buildup and the West's declining fiscal resources.

Here are a few facts: The Warsaw Pact now has some 900,000 men in Central Europe while NATO has 700,000. The Soviet-bloc allies have 15,000 tanks there as against 6,000 for NATO. The Warsaw Pact has a two-to-one edge in aircraft. Until recently NATO had technological superiority in its nuclear weaponry but the Russians now have a rough parity in tactical nuclear weapons and are catching up in technological quality.

Especially disturbing to NATO strategists is the Soviet naval buildup. In the past five years the Russians have dramatically increased their presence in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. They are vigorously pushing their penetration of Africa, most visibly Angola.

The Soviet Union reportedly has established air and naval facilities in Somalia and Guinea and, according to a report to NATO defense ministers, Soviet warships are using ports in Nigeria. Sounding a warning about Soviet expansionism, Admiral Sir Peter Hill-Norton, chairman of NATO's defense planning committee, warns that all these moves underscore "the importance the Russians attach to cutting the lifeline between North America and Europe and between Europe and the oil-producing areas."

The Atlantic alliance is far from inert to these developments. But the problem is that every nation in the West is under great economic pressures to cut defense spending. The Netherlands recently announced sharp cuts in manpower and submarine training programs. Britain has been retrenching militarily everywhere outside West Germany. And President Ford's defense budget, too, has been pared.

Some of these cuts presumably are being made against anticipated mutual reductions arising out of current East-West talks. But the regrettable point is that once the cuts are made this erodes the West's bargaining position in the negotiations.

In any case, there is urgent need to find ways of cutting NATO defense costs without impairing defense strength. This is why standardization of armaments is under discussion. Estimates are that \$10 billion a year is wasted because of duplication and lack of standardization.

Eventually, of course, East-West agreements on strategic arms control and conventional troop reductions would enable both sides greatly to reduce military outlays. But with detente under strain, with the Russians militarily pressing their presence in Angola, and with NATO itself weakened by uncertainty in Portugal and an unresolved situation in Cyprus, it would be hazardous to disregard Sir Peter's warnings. He said that defense chiefs "recognize that unless countries are prepared to pay the premium," the West's defense will be eroded to the point where the chance of nuclear warfare is increased.



Admiral Sir Peter Hill-Norton warns of Soviet naval expansion

By Sven Simon

## Editorial

### Ce dont l'OTAN a besoin

La réunion de l'OTAN qui a eu lieu ce mois-ci à Bruxelles et à laquelle assistait le secrétaire d'Etat américain Henry Kissinger s'est tenue à un moment où se manifeste un soulèvement grandissant quant à l'expansion soviétique dans l'Atlantique Sud et au déséquilibre continu des forces Est-Ouest en Europe centrale, à l'avantage des membres du Pacte de Varsovie. Le problème fondamental est de savoir comment maintenir les forces de l'OTAN au niveau: et à la puissance nécessaires face au renforcement militaire et naval des Soviétiques et aux ressources fiscales décroissantes de l'Ouest.

Voici quelques faits: les membres du Pacte de Varsovie maintiennent actuellement 900 000 hommes en Europe centrale contre les 700 000 de l'OTAN. Ils y alignent 15 000 tanks contre 6 000 pour l'OTAN. Leur aviation est deux fois supérieure en nombre. Tout récemment encore l'arsenal nucléaire de l'OTAN marquait une supériorité technologique mais à l'heure actuelle les Russes sont à peu près à égalité en armes tactiques et nucléaires et rattrapent l'OTAN en fait de technologie.

Pour les stratèges de l'OTAN le renforcement naval soviétique est tout particulièrement un sujet de soucis. Au cours des cinq dernières années la présence des Russes en Méditerranée et dans l'océan Indien s'est accrue de façon dramatique. Ils s'efforcent vigoureusement de pénétrer en Afrique, comme l'Indique clairement la situation en Angola.

L'Union soviétique a établi des bases aériennes et navales en Somalie et en Guinée et, d'après un rapport adressé aux ministères de la défense de l'OTAN, des vaisseaux de guerre soviétiques mouillent dans les eaux du Nigeria. L'amiral Sir Peter Hill-Norton, président du comité de planning de la défense de l'OTAN, fait retentir un avertissement à propos de l'expansion soviétique et déclare que toutes ces manœuvres font ressortir l'importance que les Russes attachent à couper les lignes de communication entre l'Amérique du Nord et l'Europe ainsi qu'entre l'Europe et les régions productrices de pétrole.

L'alliance atlantique est loin de rester sourde à ces événements. Toutefois le problème réside dans le fait que chaque nation de l'Ouest est sujette à de fortes pressions économiques qui la poussent à réduire son budget pour la défense. Les Pays-Bas ont dernièrement annoncé des coupes sombres dans leur programme de formation de troupes et dans leur marine sous-marine. La Grande-Bretagne s'est retirée militairement partout excepté en Allemagne de l'Ouest. Le budget de la défense du président Ford a également été diminué.

Vraisemblablement certaines de ces coupures sont faites en anticipation de réductions mutuelles que vont provoquer les discussions Est-Ouest actuellement en cours. Mais ce qui est regrettable c'est que la mise en application de ces coupures va miner la position de l'Ouest lors des négociations.

Quoi qu'il en soit, il est urgent de trouver des moyens de réduire les frais afférents à la défense de l'OTAN sans en diminuer la puissance défensive. C'est pourquoi la standardisation des armements est mise en cause. On estime à \$10 milliards par an le gaspillage dû au double emploi et au manque de standardisation.

Bien entendu, en fin de compte les accords Est-Ouest sur le contrôle des armes stratégiques et les réductions de troupes conventionnelles permettraient aux deux parties de diminuer considérablement leurs dépenses militaires. Mais avec la pression que subit la détente, avec un accord SALT II encore intangible, avec les Russes forçant une présence militaire en Angola et avec l'OTAN elle-même affaiblie par l'incertitude régnant au Portugal et la situation sans solution à Chypre, il serait hasardeux de négliger les avertissements de Sir Peter. Il a déclaré que les chefs de la défense reconnaissent qu'à moins que les pays ne soient prêts à payer la prime, la défense de l'Ouest se détériorera au point de compromettre les possibilités d'une guerre nucléaire.

Il ne faut pas permettre que cela lui

## Leitartikel

### Die Nöte der NATO

Die NATO-Tagung in diesem Monat in Brüssel, die auch der Außenminister der Vereinigten Staaten, Henry Kissinger, besuchte, fiel in eine Zeit zunehmender Besorgnis über die sowjetische Expansionspolitik im Südatlantik und die zwischen Ost und West in Mitteleuropa fortbestehende Unausgeglichenheit in militärischer Hinsicht zugunsten des Warschauer Paktes. Die grundsätzliche Frage ist, wie angesichts der sowjetischen Aufrüstung der Land- und Seestreitkräfte und der schwindenden finanziellen Mittel des Westens, die Verteidigungsfähigkeit der NATO auf den neuesten Stand gebracht werden und stark bleiben können.

Es seien hier einige Tatsachen genannt: Der Warschauer Pakt hat nun fünf 900.000 Mann in Mitteleuropa stationiert, während die NATO nur 700.000 hat. Die Ostblockstaaten verfügen über 15.000 Panzer gegenüber den 6.000 der NATO. Der Warschauer Pakt hat zweimal so viele Flugzeuge wie die NATO. Bis vor kurzem war die NATO in bezug auf ihre nuklearen Waffen technologisch überlegen, aber die Russen stehen nun mit ihren taktischen nuklearen Waffen ungefähr auf gleicher Stufe und sind dabei aufzuholen, was die technologische Qualität betrifft.

Besonders beunruhigend für die NATO-Strategen ist der sowjetische Ausbau der Marine. In den letzten fünf Jahren haben die Russen ihre Präsenz im Mittelmeer und im Indischen Ozean beträchtlich verstärkt. Sie versuchen mit aller Kraft, Einfluß in Afrika zu gewinnen — am deutlichsten ist dies in Angola.

Die Sowjetunion hat angeblich Luft- und Marinestützpunkte in Somalia und Guinea eingerichtet, und wie aus einem Bericht an die NATO-Verteidigungsminister hervorgeht, laufen sowjetische Kriegsschiffe Häfen in Nigeria an. Auf die sowjetische Expansionspolitik hinweisend, sagt Admiral Sir Peter Hill-Norton, der Vorsitzende des Planungs Ausschusses der NATO, daß all diese Maßnahmen bestätigen, "für wie wichtig die Russen es halten, daß der Verkehr zwischen Nordamerika und Europa, und zwischen Europa und den ölproduzierenden Gebieten durchschnitten wird".

Die Mitglieder des atlantischen Bünd-

nisses sind sich dieser Entwicklungen sehr wohl bewußt. Aber die Schwierigkeit liegt darin, daß in jedem westlichen Land aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen auf eine Kürzung der Verteidigungskosten gedrängt wird. Holland gab kürzlich bekannt, daß es seinen Personalbestand und die Ausbildungsprogramme für Unterseebootmännern stark reduziert habe. Großbritannien hat militärische Streitkräfte aus allen Gebieten außer Westdeutschland zurückgezogen. Und Präsident Fords Verteidigungsetat wurde ebenfalls beschnitten.

Einige dieser Kürzungen beruhen wahrscheinlich auf der Erwartung beiderseitiger Technisierungen, die sich aus den gegenwärtigen Ost-West-Gesprächen ergeben mögen. Aber das Bedenkliche dabei ist, daß, sobald diese Kürzungen vorgenommen sind, der Westen bei den Verhandlungen keine so starken Druckmittel mehr hat.

Auf jeden Fall ist es dringend nötig, Mittel und Wege zu finden, die Verteidigungskosten der NATO zu kürzen, ohne ihre Verteidigungskraft zu vermindern. Aus diesem Grunde wird über die Vereinfachung der Rüstung verhandelt. Schätzungsweise werden durch Duplikation und mangelnde Standardisierung jedes Jahr 10 Milliarden Dollar verschwendet.

In der Zukunft könnten natürlich beide Seiten durch Ost-West-Abkommen über die Begrenzung strategischer Waffen und durch die Reduzierung konventioneller Truppen ihre militärischen Kosten bedeutend herabsetzen. Doch jetzt, wo die Entspannung gefährdet ist, wo die Russen mit Gewalt in Angola Fuß zu fassen suchen und die NATO selbst durch die ungewisse Lage in Portugal und die ungelöste Situation auf Zypern geschwächt ist, wäre es gefährlich, Sir Peters Warnung in die Wind zu schlagen. Er sagte, die Oberkommandierenden der Streitkräfte, "sind sich bewußt, daß — es sei denn, die Länder sind bereit, die Kosten zu tragen — die Verteidigung des Westens bis zu dem Punkt geschwächt sein werde, wo die Möglichkeit eines Atomkriegs näher rückt".

So weit darf man es nicht kommen lassen.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum  
(Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

### Jamais seuls

Cet ami à moi, qui vivait séparé de sa famille, me disait que Noël le déprimait toujours. Toutes ces fêtes, et même la musique, le plongeaient dans la mélancolie. Si ces liens qui se resserrent entre les êtres au moment de Noël en font pour vous une occasion de tristesse et de solitude, il y a une solution infaillible. Familiarisez-vous avec la vraie signification de Noël — et du Christ.

La Science Chrétienne révèle la distinction à faire entre Jésus, l'homme, et le Christ, qui exprime la nature spirituelle de Dieu. Vous pouvez à l'instant même vous rapprocher du Christ autant que vous le désirez, car ce que Dieu exprime et connaît, c'est votre identité spirituelle et individuelle. Que disparaissent donc ce triste mortel et soyez vous-même tel que Dieu vous connaît — Son enfant.

Nul être flamboyant joyeusement un jour de fête ne saurait mieux vous réchauffer que cette vérité: nul amour humain ne saurait l'égaliser, nulles voix joyeuses ne pourraient vous apporter telle inspiration. Percevoir en vous-même la nature du Christ, c'est le renouveau qu'on appelle Noël. Chaque matin cela peut se produire, vous éveillez à votre être véritable en tant qu'enfant de Dieu. Nous savons que, lorsque cela sera manifesté, nous serons semblables à lui, parce que nous le verrons tel qu'il est.

Cette nature semblable au Christ, qu'est-ce donc? Plus nous étudions ce que nous dit la Bible à propos des qualités chrétiennes qu'exprimait Jésus et mieux nous apprécions cet amour qui fait abstraction de soi-même, la pureté qui lui permettrait de voir au-delà des brumes de la sensibilité, la vigueur infatigable qui lui permettrait de porter le fardeau du monde et d'élever l'humanité même à une nouvelle ère de compréhension. En tant qu'enfants de Dieu, ces qualités chrétiennes ne nous sont pas données et nous ne devrions pas nous les dénier.

S'identifier au Christ, c'est être sauvé, sauvé des limitations avilissantes de la mortalité. C'est être sauvé de l'état d'être un mortel limité et malheureux. "Christ, la véritable idée spirituelle, est l'idéal de Dieu, maintenant et pour toujours, tel et parfait", écrit Mary Baker Eddy, qui a découvert et fondé la Science Chrétienne.

Noël, votre nouvelle naissance, ne survient pour vous une signification durable que dans la mesure où votre vision des choses régénérera votre vie. Il faut vivre chaque époque des qualités chrétiennes auquel vous parvenez. Alors l'existence égoïste cédera à la joie indélébile de l'amour désintéressé. Face au pardon l'amerume s'évapore. Avec chaque effort visant à la réforme apparaîtra le moi dont la nature est semblable au Christ. Nulle lutte ne saurait être plus satisfaisante. Briser les chaînes que Dieu ne nous a jamais imposées, c'est élever spirituellement, c'est une légèreté du cœur qui supplante le bonheur humain.

De toute éternité notre unité avec Dieu est demeurée intacte et nulle condition mortelle ne peut nous séparer de Dieu. Une fois né à nouveau, laissant loin derrière lui sa haine de l'idée Christ en faveur d'un dévouement profond, l'apôtre Paul pouvait proclamer avec allégresse: "Ni la mort ni la vie... ni les choses présentes ni les choses à venir, ni les puissances, ni la hauteur ni la profondeur, ni aucune autre créature ne pourra nous séparer de l'amour de Dieu manifesté en Jésus-Christ notre Seigneur."

Tel est le don que chaque jour nous

And ye are complete in him, which is the head of all principality and power.

Colossians 2:10

# French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels  
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

### Niemals allein

Weihnachten stimmt mich immer traurig, sagte ein Bekannter von mir, der von seinen Angehörigen getrennt war. Die Festlichkeiten zur Weihnachtszeit, selbst die Musik, erfüllten ihn mit Schwermut. Wenn Sie Weihnachten allein verbringen und es Sie traurig stimmt, wenn sich andere Menschen zu den Feiertagen zusammenfinden, dann gibt es eine unfehlbare Lösung für Sie. Machen Sie sich mit der wirklichen Bedeutung von Weihnachten — und dem Christus — vertraut.

Die Christliche Wissenschaft\* unterscheidet zwischen Jesus, dem Menschen, und Christus, dem göttlichen Ausdruck der geistigen Natur Gottes. Jetzt, in diesem Augenblick, können Sie dem Christus so nahe kommen, wie Sie möchten, denn das, was Gott zum Ausdruck bringt und kennt, ist Ihre individuelle, geistige Identität. Geben Sie den traurigen Sterblichen auf, und seien Sie Sie selbst, wie Gott Sie kennt — Sein Kind.

Kein knisterndes Kaminfeuer kann Sie mehr wärmen als diese Wahrheit, keine menschliche Liebe kann ihr gleichkommen, frühlische Stimmen können Ihre Stimmung nicht mehr heben. Wenn Sie einen Schimmer von der Christlichkeit in sich selbst erschaffen, stellt dies einen neuen Anfang dar, Weihnachten genannt. Es kann jeden Morgen geschehen. Sie können jeden Morgen zu Ihrem Sein als dem Kind Gottes erwachen. "Wir wissen aber, wann es erscheinen wird, daß wir ihm gleich sein werden; denn wir werden ihn sehen, wie er ist."

Was ist diese Christlichkeit? Je mehr wir uns damit befassen, was

uns die Bibel über die christusgemäßen Eigenschaften sagt, die Jesus zum Ausdruck brachte, desto mehr schätzen wir jene selbstlose Liebe, die Reinheit, die ihn befähigte, durch den sinnlichen Nebel hindurchzuschauen, die unverminderte Kraft, die die Lasten der Welt tragen und die Menschheit in eine neue Ära des Verständnisses heben konnte. Diese christusgemäßen Eigenschaften sind uns als den Kindern Gottes nicht versagt, und wir sollten sie uns selbst nicht versagen.

Sich mit dem Christus zu identifizieren bringt Erlösung — Erlösung von den abstupfenden Begrenzungen der Sterblichkeit. Es bewahrt uns vor einem unglücklichen, begrenzten sterblichen Dasein. "Christus als die wahre geistige Idee ist das Ideal Gottes jetzt und immerdar, hier und allüberall", schreibt Mary Baker Eddy, die die Christliche Wissenschaft entdeckte und gründete.

Ihre Wiedergeburt, Weihnachten, hat nur dann eine anhaltende Bedeutung, wenn Ihre geistige Schau Ihr Leben umgestaltet. Jeder Schimmer, den Sie von den christusgemäßen Eigenschaften erschaffen, muß in die Tat umgesetzt werden. Dann weicht ein egoistisches Dasein der unbeschreiblichen Freude selbstloser Liebe. Verwitterung schmilzt vor der Vergewaltigung dahin. Unser christusgemäßes Selbst kommt mit jeder Bemühung, sich zu bessern, mehr zum Vorschein. Es gibt kein befriedigenderes Ringen als dieses. Wenn Sie sich von den Fesseln frei machen, die Gott Ihnen niemals angelegt hat, schwenken Sie geistig in höheren Regionen. Sie empfinden einen Frohsinn, der menschliches Glück übertrifft.

Ihre ewige Einheit mit Gott wurde niemals aufgelöst, und kein sterblicher Zustand kann eine Trennung verursachen. Paulus konnte aufgrund seiner eigenen Wiedergeburt aus dem Haß gegen die Christus-Idee zu tiefer Hingabe voller Freude verkünden: "Weder Tod noch Leben... weder Gegenwärtiges noch Zukünftiges, weder Hohes noch Tiefes noch keine andere Kreatur kann uns scheiden von der Liebe Gottes, die in Christus Jesus ist, unserm Herrn."

Dies ist das Geschenk, das Ihnen jeden Tag neu gegeben wird, ein Geschenk, das ewiglich von unschätzbarem Wert ist. Nehmen Sie dieses Geschenk dankbar von Gott an, behandeln Sie es sorgfältig. Kein Mensch kann es Ihnen nehmen, weil kein Mensch es Ihnen gegeben hat.

Wie dies bei allen Geschenken der Fall ist, schließt es ein Geben und Empfangen ein. Wenn Sie die Christusgemäßheit Ihrer eigenen geistigen Identität akzeptieren, werden Sie unweigerlich den Christusgeist in anderen wahrnehmen. Sie können kein größeres Geschenk machen, als einem Menschen das zuzuschreiben, was Gott ihm bereits gegeben hat — Gottähnlichkeit. Wenn Sie Ihren Nächsten im Licht des Christus sehen, wird die falsche Last der Sterblichkeit, die er trägt, geringer. Auf diese Weise machen wir uns gegenseitig die Last leichter, ein immerwährendes Weihnachtsgeschenk. Der Christus zeigt uns, wie die Last für uns leicht wird, wenn wir das göttliche Joch auf uns nehmen.

Wir sind heute nicht allein und werden es niemals sein.

1. Johannes 3:12; \*Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift, S. 361; \*Römer 8:38, 39.

\*Christen Science, sprach treuigen \*eigne.

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, "Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift" von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Lesezimmern der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

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By Gordon N. Converse

On a road near Nazareth



## Singing its own praises

This painting simply sings its own praises. It has a tranquil, apparently inevitable music, bringing diversity into wholeness. Self-composure and quiet purpose informs each individual — the solemnly prophetic shepherds, the tolerant seated Joseph, the angels grouped in visible five-part harmony (each so different from the other), the mild and serene Mary, and the baby, almost closer to the "heavenly host" than he is to his mother.

This *separateness* — which even extends to the animals and birds, and into the distance of minutely delineated trees — is the essence of the painting's lucidity. It would be tempting to say "coolness" if this word didn't suggest a lack of feeling. Here is one of the most elusive qualities of Piero's painting: the patient light, the control and carefulness of his geometrical composition, the supersensitive order of his color (in the "Nativity" there is a lovely progression of celestial blues and violets) — all these elements might be expected to add up to a kind of neat demureness or even an unfeeling deliberation. Instead there is the weightless inspiration of a kind of sublime aptness.

Philip Hendy writes that: "For us, as we look at this picture, the Nativity might never have been painted before." Factually, of course, this part of the life of Jesus must be among the most frequently painted subjects in the world history of art. Piero was certainly aware of previous and contemporary "Nativities," both Italian and Flemish. Luca della Robbia's marble singing gallery in Florence is clearly the memory at the back of his quintet of angels. The motif of the baby lying on the Virgin's cloak derives from the Portinari altarpiece of Hugo van der Goes. A charming "Nativity" by Alesso Baldovinetti shares many features in common, including the ruin of dubious stability which improvises as a poor shelter and isolates the foreground scene from the distant landscape.

But whatever the promptings and precedents, they are entirely absorbed into Piero's wonderfully unified vision. A vision seems to me to be exactly what this "Nativity" is. As a religious painting it is by no means didactic, nor is it an icon. It is more like a dream-allegory, identifying a momentary event with timeless truth.

The placid and sculptural stance of the angels is in no conflict with their fleeting song. The natural and the supernatural are found to exist in the same gentle light, the joyful and the calm, the familiar and the deeply mysterious.

The considerable damage done by cleaning to the surface of this work has perhaps even added to its presence — it seems almost like an intricate bone-structure scoured by exposure: its sensitivity of form staying finely intact.

What other painting contains simultaneously a more open simplicity and a more profoundly hidden meaning?

Christopher Andreas



"The Nativity" c. 1470-1475: Tempera and oil on panel by Piero della Francesca

### Carol for all seasons

In the sprawling  
barn of space,  
the stars are yellow straw —

On a grassy  
slope of hill,  
a tree leans on its staff —

On dark shoulders,  
riding high,  
a small, white lamb of moon —

From the mountain's  
stolid mass,  
a bovine breath and gaze —

In the manger  
bed of earth,  
the high, thin wall of dawn —

And this daily  
miracle:  
Nativity of Now.

Gloria Maxson

### Desert

Here on this vasty shift of sands  
in light as merciless as devouring fire  
no towers loom up, no images survive:  
no echo of horn or trumpet caught  
where all that once was  
now lies consumed:  
a burning and an indecipherable dust.

The long wind blows. The dark comes on.

A great sky glitters with its waste of stars

Where the tablets — broken —  
are a drift of grit  
the Word, only the Word, abides.

Doris Peel

## Christmas: on looking back

Christmas was over, and as I was slipping off to sleep, my mind paused before the memories drifting, silent, luminous-small chips shining in my night — from all the years I had known Christmas, even to that far away other time on a farm when I too was a child, wondering and dazzled with the brightness of hopes and tumble of toys. There had been a marvelous expectancy then — trusting and sure and unknowing — with the windows encrusted each morning in feathery dream tracings of frost, making pictures that melted before one could see. Outside, the fields were lovely with the peace of new snow, and down in the woods were ice jewels, with the brook still singing under the whiteness, and the hush of a moment never crossed before.

Our kitchen with the comforting pot-bellied stove reeled in the festivities — orange marmalade bubbling golden and pungent with a touch of lime and grapefruit, and father's nougat being shaped by many little hands that hunted for crumbs, and, over on the big stove, plum pudding boiling with its rich splendor wrapped in the white-floured bag.

The spacious front door, usually kept locked, was swung widely open to greet laden friends and a procession of amazing aunts unencumbered with uncles — doughty Dutch spinsters immersed in contrary thinking and heavy woolens.

Memory has a wistful uncertainty over the breaks in life and suddenly in my mind I am no longer the child I was, and the Christmas are melting into girlhood and the early war marriage with all the weary anxious waiting and wanting. We had only one Christmas together then — our first — far away in the strange isolation of a small cabin in the desert fifty miles from India, the nearest town. The troops sang wistfully of a "White Christmas" and had their turkey and cranberry sauce in a sandstorm. We made presents out of pencils and little poems and bits of India's frayed luxury and we knew, somewhere beyond the sandstorm and the loneliness of time running out that there was the hope of a chance after the war — the happiness and the sorrows and the comforts of the small ways of love growing into a life together — the dreams and the babies — the bright crowing laughs and the eager, trusting eyes and queuing minds of children coming to us — our waiting children. And they did come.

Miriam, the beautiful first baby reaching out with her tiny hands to the Christmas tree glittering in stars; and then so soon — only a breath apart, it seems she's grown — poised and separate. And Mary Porter, still growing, the child Madonna, immersed in glue and paint and secret contrivances to make Dad a hiding box, and then Christmas morning, standing like a shadow beside me, hoping I will like the perfume in the tinseled pagoda that has taken all her money at the Five and Ten.

And the two boys, our last babies, rolling, tumbling like puppies; jumping for imaginary baskets in every doorway, hurrying past like baseballs, hoping for bats and balls, and maybe, O fabulous thought! real leather mitts — those marvelous, bewitching, whirling, enchanting boys, writing Aunt

Betsy, who always sent socks, "thanks for you know what" and shivering in their beds sucking icicles sneaked from out their windows, strictly against orders. . . . Bill making bells on Dad's dictaphone for Christmas morning so we wouldn't miss the "however did it break — it just dropped!" record of English Victory Bells we always had played. . . . John laboring with pockered face and wet pencil over a book for me on John Paul Jones — "He lost a ship but he Won PRIDE" — and down at the end in a crumpled envelope, wrapped in tissue, two earrings of blue stones, hoarded all these months from the ten cent rummage sale. Bill, in a desperate moment of repentance, found in my pocket of "special occasion" cards, a note of condolence that seemed just right — "To our Beloved Mother in her Moment of Sorrow; With Sympathy from 'her bad son who's going to be different from now on'" — and then on the inside page a hasty drawing of all the anticipated, almost suggested presents, mostly baseball, with a new and "altered" Bill saying in an exuberance of resolve "This will change Bill. He doesn't deserve all this, and it will make him think" . . . .

The memories go floating on, and just beyond lingers the child shadow of Sarah, who had only one Christmas and knew only me — and I see her tiny face that Christmas Eve laughing in the shining of the lights. In her eyes, her beautiful lilac eyes, was only love and a gentle wonder — darling little Sarah — God bless her, my sweetest baby.

Outside my window now the leafless trees are gray gaunt lines marching into the new year with its familiar unfinished plans and old imperfections. The hush of a new moment never before crossed is scattered in the steady ticking of time never stopping. And downstairs is the left-over disarray of a grown-up Christmas — hand-monogrammed silk ties spilling into tangerines, my best paring knife fished illicitly to carve up cartons, wastepaper baskets overflowing with torn tissue and dropped cards — I hear children charging through the billows of tissue to open the last tiny window in the advent calendar strewn in stardust with glimpses of the baby smiling in the straw.

Now as I fall asleep with the long day behind, I remember my own last baby, Johnny, and feel his little round head lying in my lap and the confining tender touch of his hand. Once on our round of carols, he had given an old lady a kiss because she wished she had a little boy and because she had no one to make her a present. I think of his earnest small face as he sang in the night, his fingers pinching tight to remember the words, and the cuffs of his new shirt grandly shooting out the sleeves of last year's jacket with the brass buttons. . . . "Never a child so lovely . . . never a kiss so dear . . . darling, darling little man . . . do you hear what I hear? . . . do you see what I see? . . . the wonder and the love. . . ."

I know in this new time ahead, I will still see my babies in the crowds of strange children, and the memories will come like a candle to light my Christmases. . . .

Mary Rosaloff Stolt

The Monitor's religious article

## Never alone

He said Christmas always depressed him, this friend of mine who was separated from his family. The festivity of the season, even the music, left him wrapped in gloom. If the holiday closeness of people to each other makes your solitary Christmas a sad affair, there is an unfailing answer. Acquaint yourself with the real meaning of Christmas — and the Christ.

Christian Science reveals a distinction between Jesus, the man, and Christ, God's expression of His spiritual nature. Right now you can get as close as you want to the Christ, for what God expresses and knows is your individual, spiritual identity. Let the sad mortal fall away, and be yourself as God knows you — His child.

No crackling holiday fire can warm you more than this truth, no human love can match it, happy voices cannot lift your spirits higher. To glimpse the Christliness within yourself is the new beginning called Christmas. It can happen every morning, an awakening to your being as the child of God. "We know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is."

What is this Christliness? The more we study what the Bible tells us of the Christly qualities expressed by Jesus, the deeper is our appreciation of that self-forgetful love, the purity that allowed him to see through the sensual fog, the unabated strength that could bear the world's burdens and lift humanity itself into a new era of understanding. These Christly qualities are not denied us as the children of God, and we should not deny them to ourselves.

To identify yourself with Christ is to be saved, saved from mortality's deadening limitations. It is to be saved from being an unhappy, limited mortal. "Christ, as the true spiritual idea, is the ideal of God now and forever, here and everywhere," writes Mary Baker Eddy, who discovered and founded Christian Science.

Your rebirth, Christmas, has enduring meaning only as your vision regenerates your life. Every glimpse you gain of the Christly qualities needs to be lived. Then self-centered existence gives way to the inexpressible joy of unselfed love. Bitterness evaporates before forgiveness. The Christly self emerges with every effort at reform. There is no struggle so satisfying as this. To free yourself from chains God never gave you is spiritual soaring, a lightheartedness that supersedes human happiness.

Your unity with God has never in all eternity been dissolved, and no mortal condition can make a separation. It was Paul, out of his own rebirth from hatred of the Christ-idea to deep devotion, who could exultantly proclaim, "Neither death, nor life, . . . nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

This is the gift you are given anew each day, one that is eternally without price.

### BIBLE VERSE

And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.

Luke 11:9

Accept this gift gratefully from God, handle it tenderly. No man can take it from you, because no man gave it to you.

As with all proper gifts, there is a giving as well as a partaking. When you accept the Christliness of your own spiritual identity, inevitably you will see the Christ-spirit in others. There is no greater gift you can give than to attribute to a man what God has already bestowed on him — Godlikeness. As you see your neighbor in the light of the Christ, the false burden of mortality he carries is lessened. In this way we lighten the load of each other, a continual Christmas gift. The Christ shows us how taking the divine yoke upon us makes the burden light. Today and forever, we are never alone.

\*1 John 3:2; \*\*Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 361; †Romans 8:38, 39.

## Within the closeness of God's family

To feel a natural warmth and affection for all our brothers and sisters as children of God is to be drawn within the encircling love of our divine Parent. The Bible speaks of this bond of universal brotherhood and assures us that we are all the sons and daughters of God. It tells us that God can help us in every circumstance.

A fuller understanding of God is needed to reach to the core of every discord with a healing solution. A book that speaks of the all-goodness of God, His love and His constancy, in clear understandable terms is Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy.

Science and Health shows the reader how to love in a manner that brings about happy relationships, an honest affection for all mankind, and a deeper love for God.

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# OPINION AND...

Richard L. Strout

## Food: the Soviet drag

Washington  
Soviet Russia can't compete with the United States in raising food. Its climate, its soil and, in part, its ideology, handicap it. This deeply affects the relationship of the two nations. And behind U.S.-Soviet rivalry there is the world. Global food scarcity is a continuing reality. On present projections world population will double in 30 years and food will be still more important than now. At one level the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are carrying on an arms confrontation at terrible cost while, at another level, there is the food problem, with food inferiority for Russia. Russia has the drought; America the bumper crop. The Russians must either see the improvement in their standard of living halt or decline, or they must come back to the United States and buy grain. They did it this year. The amount they buy next year may be greater, though theoretically fixed. Under last month's agreement the Russians will buy at least 6 to 8 million tons annually for five years.

The Russians are in flagrant violation of the guidelines set up by the Rome food conference of 1974 urging nations to give advance information on crop conditions and food reserves. The Russians' secret, erratic, and massive food purchases are the single most disruptive factor in the jittery world food market. Many people don't realize that world grain prices tripled between 1972 and 1974. When Russia buys food it raises prices and loaves-clothed peasants in far lands go hungry.

The Soviet Union covers half a continent but is less formidable in food production than it looks on the map. It has severe winters and short-growing season; it lacks an American "corn belt" of rich soil and dependable rainfall.

On the political side it has gone in for collectivized farms which aren't efficient, and for dual-purpose livestock (same breed of cattle for meat and for milk). American farmers long since separated grazing herds from dairy herds. Russia can improve its

agricultural efficiency and doubtless will, but behind that is the frozen fact of its climate and terrain. It has just had another harvest estimated to range from bad to disastrous, and it hasn't even told its own people about it. Russia's poor harvests may average one in three or one in four.

The Soviet Union won't stop building arms. But for the time being it will probably have to postpone putting more grain-fattened meat on workers' tables with their cabbage and potatoes. It will come back next year to the world's breadbasket, the United States and Canada, and possibly do this for years ahead as population expands. It will find much of the rest of the world buying here, too.

Russia has the money to buy food, but how about the 41 poorest countries? Russia's purchases send prices up, in the supermarket and in the Asian bazaar. Food production in relation to world population is declining. A few years ago many nations exported grain; today, of 115 keeping statistics, only a few do.

In the past quarter century not a single significant new cereal exporter has appeared; the trend is the other way. Take Japan. Up to 1970, Japan raised more grain than it imported; now domestic production has fallen and it has become the world's largest importer, more than any other two countries combined.

The idle crop land of the U.S. is now in production; it used to be a safety reserve for the world. In 1972 world reserve grain stocks equaled 69 days of estimated world consumption; in 1975 — 55 days; in 1974 — only 23 days. That's dangerous.

Some nations are chronically hungry. They are susceptible to the vagaries of the weather.

The Russian grain crop affects U.S.-Soviet relationships, of course, but in the broader sense it has global significance. Food is a deepening world problem and the latest recurrent bad harvest in the Soviet Union merely emphasizes it.

Melvin Maddocks

## Unforbidden pleasures

There are certain impossible speeches we all deliver to one another in the most casual, the most matter-of-fact voice.

"Stop worrying."

"Just relax."

"Don't think about it."

We might as well be telling each other: "Move a mountain." Here are injunctions of staggering magnitude. If we could obey them, we would practically have solved our lives. We are talking about a realm of grace, beyond the will, beyond command. Yet we command these performances as if we were saying: "Please count to 10."

Of all the inordinate demands routinely called for, "Have a good time" may be the most unreasonable. It is certainly the most popular, and we can all count upon hearing it regularly during the holiday season.

To have a good time, it seems, has become everybody's duty.

Whenever Americans ask something nearly impossible of themselves — like "Build a patio" or "Be happy" — sooner or later they produce how-to manuals, otherwise known as self-help books. The self-help book

by its very existence signals that the task under consideration is not as easy as everybody pretends. But its rhetoric sends its own subliminal message: "Isn't this simple? All you really need is a little confidence."

The "Have-a-good-time" people now have their ultimate manual — "The Pleasure Book" (Stein and Day, \$8.95) by Julius Fast.

Mr. Fast is like one of those relentless cruise directors who simply refuses to allow you not to have a good time. Kindly but firmly he has organized 74 "pleasures," from the rather obvious fun-and-games (golf, needlepoint, scuba-diving) to some fairly far-out novelties ("sitting in the dark," "walking in the rain," "checking into lavish hotels").

Nor are these options from which a Goodtime Charlie selects two or three. It is the Fast theory of pleasure that one should be "into" — "turned on by" — as many different pleasures as possible.

But what does this mean? Here the dirty little secret begins to leak out. Behind the usual "Six-Easy-Lessons" camouflage, having a good time adds up to a lot of hard work. Being a really successful anti-puritan makes being a puritan seem like loafing in the midday sun.

For a new moral imperative is present. Speaking of a July day, Mr. Fast declares: "It's sinful to waste this weather. . . ." An archaic figure of speech? Maybe. But anybody not having the prescribed good time these days is made to feel like a sinner in the hands of a Frowning Gamesmaster.

Like all pleasure-preachers, Mr. Fast guarantees to deliver us from our puritanical guilt. But what if we

don't really want to soak in his steam bath or go to his antsy picnic? Who will deliver us from our anti-puritanical guilt?

Today's superindustrious revolt against the work-ethic has a special moment of pathos, if not self-parody. It occurs when the have-a-good-time advocate, in his climax of defiance, recommends: *Do nothing.* "Blessed slothfulness!" Mr. Fast calls it. What a comedy this rehearsed idleness is! — this carefully programmed "unstructured" time. And with what relief Mr. Fast appears to rush back to his 73 other "pleasure sources!"

And yet, making a loaf of bread, sailing, going to an auction — how forced, how hollow these activities seem when taken out of a total context and isolated, like ingredients in a recipe!

For all the cheerful, partygoing tone there is something irredeemably gloomy about have-a-good-time books, with their premise that one must keep busy playing as one's father and mother did working. At the heart of them lies such a state of boredom. In a panic they spew out their solutions without ever acknowledging the problem.

Plato — a man who, like everybody else, wanted to have a good time too — concluded that happiness is the consequence of being good, and of nothing else. Plato's answer is hard. We are inclined to prefer something "instant," something packaged, though occasionally we do say, "Be good" — still another of those daunting little injunctions we so glibly hypon each other. If Plato is right — and deep down we know he is — this may be the only injunction we should take seriously.

## Why \$117 billion for defense?

By Arthur C. Herrington

The precipitous departure of James Schlesinger from the Department of Defense raises a central question about United States military preparedness: On what grounds are U.S. defense expenditures justified?

Schlesinger has been a strong proponent of increased U.S. expenditures in constant dollars to match an estimated real growth in Soviet military budgets. The current budget is an example. Even after congressional cuts of \$7 billion the fiscal 1976 defense budget will be \$98 billion. This figure includes some small real growth from the prior years based on average inflation in the U.S. economy. Some military proponents argue that a cut is involved because military goods and services are inflating faster than average.

For fiscal 1977 Defense originally asked for \$117 billion, about 20 percent more than is now scheduled for 1976. That figure, generated about a year ago, does not include growth in some defense procurement programs that has surfaced since. Thus, Defense's latest "requirement" for fiscal 1977 was probably above the \$117 billion figure. By comparison President Ford is now proposing \$107 billion for defense, which Schlesinger contends will turn out to be a 5-6 percent cut in defense buying power.

Clearly there are massive differences be-

tween Mr. Ford and his departed Defense Secretary on what the defense budget should be, or at least what should be asked of Congress.

The difficulty with Schlesinger's position is twofold. First, there can be arguments about what inflation should be used to measure real growth in defense. Second, and far more important, however, is that estimates of Soviet defense expenditures are a dubious basis for setting the U.S. defense budget.

1. There are great uncertainties in the level of Soviet defense expenditures either as a fraction of Soviet GNP or when compared to the U.S. in dollar equivalents. These uncertainties stem in part from poor data on Soviet systems, support, and budgeting. They also stem from our inability to compare U.S. and Soviet real costs in any suitable way. Further, to measure changes in Soviet expenditures and compare them with changes in the U.S. is even more difficult.

2. Even if Soviet expenditures could be measured precisely in U.S. terms, there is a major question about the efficiency of those expenditures in buying usable military hardware. There are some obvious gross inefficiencies in the Soviet system when compared to that of the U.S. (multiple large ICBM

programs, massive internal security requirements, retention of obsolete equipment). In short, budget comparisons do not deal with the capabilities of the forces procured.

3. There are frequent allegations that the U.S. defense budget is itself inefficiently allocated. Two perceptions are widely held: one, there is actual "fat" in the form of too large staffs, too many perquisites, too many bases, or other unnecessary support; and two, there are inefficiencies in new weapon procurement such as nuclear power for surface ships, large instead of small fighter aircraft, the design of the B-1 bomber, etc. Strict comparisons of U.S. and Soviet expenditures provide no counter to such criticisms, whether well founded or not.

4. Fundamentally, U.S. and Soviet defense needs are not directly related to one another on the margin. The Russians have to face a potentially hostile China whose actions can independently drive up Soviet expenditures. Conversely, the U.S. has global commitments which drive up its costs independent of changes in the Soviet budget. In particular, actions by NATO allies could affect U.S. expenditures to cope with a static Soviet posture.

Schlesinger, a skilled economist and defense analyst, apparently could not make his

case with the administration or Congress for some or all of the above reasons. On the other hand, if the Schlesinger arguments were insufficient to justify a defense budget of about \$117 billion for fiscal 1977, Mr. Ford has as yet presented no rationale for \$107 billion, or any other level for that matter. It is precisely this issue that Secretary Donald Rumsfeld must confront in the next few weeks prior to presenting the fiscal 1977 defense budget to Congress.

The central question that must be asked of the Defense Department is what parts of the world is the U.S. preparing to defend, under what conditions, and how do the various elements of the defense establishment contribute to that end? Schlesinger's posture statement for fiscal 1976 issued early this year painted an interesting picture of the military problems posed by U.S. commitments, but carefully avoided tying specific programs or marginal needs for funds to overall assessments of capability and risk. It will be interesting to see whether Secretary Rumsfeld attempts to make such ties. If he does not, defending defense may be an increasingly painful task.

Mr. Herrington is a private consultant on defense matters.

# COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

## U.S.A. vs. U.S.S.R. in Angola

If the Soviet Union had air lifted its weapons and the soldiers of one of its clients into a country on the western coast of Africa at any time between 1947 and 1968 the reaction in Washington would have been automatic, massive, and probably decisive.

Angola lies on the shore of the Atlantic Ocean which has long been regarded in Washington as a "mare nostrum." Two of the contending political factions in Angola are in a state of civil war with the third which is receiving Soviet aid. The two anti-Soviet factions control a majority of the population and most of the land area. They want to keep their country out of Soviet control. If it does fall under Soviet control Moscow will gain an excellent sea and air base on the flank of the main oil route from the Persian Gulf to Western Europe.

Between 1947 (the beginning of the cold war) and 1965 (when Lyndon Johnson sent half a million Americans to Vietnam) the United States intervened in many a far-off place for less reason and with far worse prospects of being able to intervene effectively and successfully.

This time the only public American reaction so far has been for Patrick Moynihan, the U.S.

Ambassador at the United Nations, to call attention to the fact that the Soviet Union, a white country, is giving substantial military aid to one black faction against other blacks in what was originally an issue exclusively among black peoples. Moscow first brought the black-white issue into the situation in Angola. Since then some American aid has gone indirectly through Zaïre, a black country, to the anti-Soviet factions.

This contrast between what Washington would have done before 1965 and what it is doing in 1975 measures many things, including the effect on American foreign policy of the long and bitter experience in Vietnam. Given a clear opportunity to react in the manner and mood of the "cold war" days, it holds back, looks the scene over cautiously, and does very little.

This does not say that Washington would always be so restrained in the face of an overt Soviet adventure in a part of the world of considerable interest to the United States. Were it a matter of South America instead of Africa it is probable that Washington would be prompt to react, and with more than words. But it certainly does seem to say that

Washington reaction is more selective and restrained now than in the old days when Moscow was on the prowl and Washington was ready to pounce.

The only surprising thing about the Angola case so far is that Moscow has intervened so openly and forcefully. Some 3,000 Cuban soldiers, brought to Angola by Soviet planes and ships, are no small thing. This amounts to the largest intervention by either U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. in a faraway place since the official end of the "cold war" and the beginning of "detente," which dates from the SALT I agreement signed in Moscow in 1972 and the follow-up in Washington during the Brezhnev visit there in June of 1973.

There have been four events since then which have tested both Moscow's and Washington's understanding of the meaning of detente in their behavior in matters touching the interests of the other.

The first of these was the counterrevolution in Chile in September of 1973. Washington's role in bringing it about was ambiguous. Moscow's role in trying to prevent it or undo it was negligible. Here was a case where Moscow sat back and watched as a Marxist

government was toppled in a right-wing counterrevolution. Moscow lamented and protested. It took no known action.

The second test came quickly thereafter in October when an Israeli Army, resupplied from Washington, broke through the Egyptian front and seemed about to trap an entire Egyptian Army. Moscow prepared to send a military force to the aid of the trapped Egyptians — but called off the maneuver when Washington undertook to restrain the Israelis.

The third case has just occurred in Portugal. Moderate political forces have crushed a left-wing and Communist-supported military rising. Moscow has done nothing to sustain the defeated leftists. Indeed, it scolded them for acting "prematurely," which is a major sin in the communist lexicon.

Now we come to test number four. There are American and allied interests in Angola. But Africa is also a place which does not lie inside either the American or the Soviet sphere of influence. It is a sort of power politics no-man's-land. The troops are Cuban, not Soviet. There is no clear case of detente violation — yet. The rest of this story bears watching.

Erwin D. Canham

## Perspective on the Nixon experience

The revisionists of recent history are hard at work. They are seeking if not to clear former President Nixon's name then at least to balance the account with equal or worse abuses by several presidents before him. And the time will come when Mr. Nixon's own book will be available.

The chief information now at hand comes from congressional investigation of the use of the FBI under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, by President Franklin Roosevelt, and perhaps to a limited degree by President Eisenhower. The evidence is bad. It shows wiretapping of political opponents — not security risks — and of newspaper people. It shows harassment through governmental agencies for three or four decades, including

use of the Internal Revenue Service.

Indeed, if you compare deeds under previous presidents to the mere episode at the Watergate, you must conclude that the earlier misdeeds (in leftist Prof. Noam Chomsky's words) were "incomparably more serious." He says they were more serious than anything contained in the Congressional Articles of Impeachment against Mr. Nixon.

But two things must be kept in mind: first, the ancient wisdom that two wrongs do not make a right. And second, the cover-up, and the falsehoods broadcast to the American people by their President. Perhaps one should add the very magnitude of the misdeeds in the Nixon administration: the selling of jobs, the selling of influence, the fudging of income-tax

returns, the public support of costly private estates.

Why didn't the press, printed and electronic, investigate past misdeeds — especially during 1974 — as vigorously as it did those of the Nixon administration?

It is a hard question to answer satisfactorily. There is some validity in the charge that many elements of the press were hostile to Mr. Nixon personally, and friendly to some of his foes. It is charged also that some members of the congressional investigative bodies, including a prominent Republican, blocked anything which might have blurred the case against Mr. Nixon.

If the question is why didn't the press look

into misdeeds long ago, from the time of FDR on, one answer is that most of them took place through the FBI and until recently the FBI was pretty much a closed fortress, guarded inexpressibly by J. Edgar Hoover and his men. Oh, a lot was known about Mr. Hoover's investigations and hates, but it was very difficult to make the case against him when he was so widely venerated and defended.

From now on there is no excuse for prudence. In the public interest, official venality should be exposed as fully as resources and facts permit. We have only just begun to curb the abuse of governmental power, and the beneficiaries of this power are likely to fight long and hard against its restraint.

## Commandments on the Underground

By Francis Renny

London  
Commuters on the London Underground railway system spend much of their travelling lives staring out the heads of the passengers seated opposite and reading the advertisements posted above the windows. Usually, nowadays, they seem to be about secretarial agencies, offering ever more glamorous reasons why girls should defect from their employers and come where the grass is greener. Office life, it appears, is one long party.

There was a time when the Underground carriages were bright with jolly rhymes about love, reassuring texts about mortgages and regular jests about manufacturers whose names were difficult to spell or pronounce. Much space was devoted to getting the public to utter "Cockburn" as "Co'b'n," and this was much appreciated by an uncle of mine of that name, who had nothing to do with the advertisement but had never been able to get the neighbors to address him correctly.

The idea was to hook the public on the advertisement by giving it something to read during the long, dark rumble to and from work. But with the growth of television advertising, and then the recession, the spaces over the windows have not been selling so well lately. London Transport has been using a lot of it to advertise itself, or recruit staff. But since October 1st, thousands of commuters have been jolted out of their urban lethargy as their eyes have come to rest on the words: "Thou shalt not commit adultery. . . . Thou shalt not steal."

This is not, in fact, London Transport carrying forward the spirit of its "No Smoking" or "Beware of Pickpockets" signs. For all, it's a kind of sermon, "remarked one lady,

somewhat archaic English of the Authorized Version) have been placed and paid for in London underground trains by the Protestant Truth Society, the Lord's Day Observance Society and the Trinitarian Bible Society. It is costing £1,563 pounds to keep them in circulation beneath the streets of London for six months.

After that — who knows? Mr. Alfred Kenait, who is both secretary and president of the Protestant Truth Society, contemplates a possible extension of the run and perhaps even taking the Decalogue on to the travelling public of other great cities — Liverpool, perhaps.

Ask him what good he hopes the message will do and he declines to guess. But the campaign was a response to the Archbishop of Canterbury's appeal to the nation to live more by the Commandments, and the Archbishop has written to say he is praying for the campaign's success.

A brief, totally unscientific survey of the effects of just one of the posters showed impact, if no immediate moral improvement. Two strap-hanging office girls went into fits of giggles. One man put on his spectacles and peered in disbelief. Another told his companion, "There's only two there I haven't broken" (but refused to say which). An immigrant from Pakistan said he hoped there would be passages from the Koran as well. And a Jewish passenger with a rabbinical beard said the Hebrew expression in "Thou shalt not kill" was really a much stronger one, equivalent to murder.

There was also some debate whether the Lord's Day Observance Society should be sponsoring an advertisement which would be rattling round London on Sundays; but on the whole that was dismissed as glibbling. "After all, it's a kind of sermon," remarked one lady.

## Americans who oppose detente

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

Washington  
One of the most fascinating — and significant — developments in the past several months is the growing evidence that many liberals are joining with conservatives in questioning United States moves toward detente with the Russians.

Some of this comes, of course, from among pro-Israelis within the U.S. liberal community who opposed the Vietnam war but who are willing now to see the U.S. confront the Soviets in behalf of Israel in the Mideast. They fear that Israel will lose out in a U.S. rapprochement with the Soviets.

A long-time astute analyst of international relations who calls himself a liberal explains this new suspicion of detente in these words:

"Many liberals among my acquaintances were furious when it was a conservative — Richard Nixon — who first moved the United States toward detente. They thought it should have been a Democratic, liberal president who did this — since it was only just, as they saw it, that what they regarded as essentially a 'liberal' position should be carried forward by a liberal chief executive."

"And they were particularly miffed because Nixon — who had won his reputation as a fighter against communism and communists and who, up until being elected president, had shown no signs of shifting his views — was the one responsible for opening the door toward Peking as well as Moscow."

"It is my observation that the reaction of many liberals now is to poke holes in detente simply because it was a Republican conservative who led the way on this and because it is a Republican conservative President who is now attempting to move it forward."

Opinion soundings in several sections of the country among those who regard themselves as liberals corroborate the above.

Some liberals, I found, were indeed indicating a distrust of detente that was apparently based on unhappiness over a Republican, conservative President being involved in bringing it about. Some doubted whether such a President could carry forward successfully what was viewed as a liberal-rooted concept.

Some raises questions as to whether a Nixon or a Ford could really have his heart in bringing about a rapprochement between the U.S. and a communist nation.

Some said they questioned whether the Soviet leaders would really trust those U.S. leaders who for so long had expressed distrust of communist governments.

But, oddly enough, some liberals said almost what the conservatives have been saying all along — that the U.S. isn't getting any real quid pro quo for its concessions to the Soviets.

Thus, they seemed to be joining with the old-time hard-liners in welcoming what appears to be a new and tougher presidential approach to negotiating SALT II with the Russians.

Now this does not mean that all those with whom this reporter talked and who identified themselves as liberals were opposed to detente as currently pursued by the President. Not at all. Probably half of those interviewed gave it an all-out endorsement. Said one whose credentials as a liberal go back for years: "I don't care who's pushing detente. I'm for it. It's our best chance for peace in this world."

But the surprising finding was that there appears to be a growing number among those who once supported detente who express reservations about it today.